The General Assembly Opens—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

October 25, 1952

Does Eisenhower Mean War?

BY D. F. FLEMING

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 25, 1952 NUMBER 17

The Shape of Things

Stevenson Narrows the Gap

If Eisenhower wins the election it will be because Americans regard him as a hero and a man capable of rising above narrow party interests, because his name is familiar to everyone while Stevenson is still a comparative unknown, and because a lot of people simply want a change in Washington. The General is busy blasting the first reason into demagogic dust. On his campaign journeys he has been cleaving so close to the Republican Party line that he shifts as it shifts from one state to the next. Meanwhile Stevenson is busy making his name familiar and attaching to it associations of courage and consistency. How far both men succeed in these activities will determine the people's final conclusion about putting a different party in power.

The one thing that can be said at this moment is that a profound change is under way. Stevenson is forging ahead; he is getting better support from party and independent organizations, and especially from labor. He has made notable progress in California, Nevada, and Utah. In California the independent vote is shifting rapidly from Eisenhower to Stevenson, who now has the active support of the influential McClatchy newspapers. Speaking from the steps of the state capitol in Sacramento, Stevenson drew an audience of 25,000—twice the number that had turned out to hear the General. More money is coming into the Stevenson campaign, although the financial problem is still acute. Truman's barnstorming trip, at least in its Western phase, has been a huge popular success. Senator Morse's switch to Stevenson has dramatized the disappointment over Eisenhower's campaign that is permeating liberal Republican ranks. This feeling was summed up with eloquent sorrow in a recent column by Walter Lippmann, who, as of this writing, is still nominally a supporter of Ike:

> It would be helpful, I think, if the General would now consider the anguish of his friends. Then he would take the risk of making at least one small public demonstration of how, as the leader of his party, he would resist pressure rather than yield to it. This would buck up his friends, would fortify them and sustain them against the growing suspicion in the country that that man Stevenson may not only be speaking in the accents of greatness but that he may perhaps embody some of the qualities of a great American leader.

Given time, Eisenhower would certainly talk himself out of the Presidency and Stevenson would talk himself into it; but is there time for this process to gain enough momentum? This is the question, and it is one that should spur Stevenson's supporters to greater efforts between now and November 4

Policies Altered to Fit

"Instead of taking a national position on the great national issues," Walter Lippmann complained in the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 16, General Eisenhower "has adjusted his position, state by state . . . to the demands of the local political machines."

This propensity for being all things to all men is well illustrated by the General's attitude on public-power and valley developments. At Boise, early in his campaign, surrounded by Republican politicians hand in glove with the Idaho Power Company, he spoke scornfully about federal power projects. More recently, in Seattle, where local Republicans oppose plans for a Columbia River Authority, he denounced such authorities as "dictatorial super-government" and called instead for cooperation in power development between federal agencies and local utilities. In this connection he might have mentioned the very close cooperation between the Bonneville Power Administration and the Public Utility Districts which have taken over much of the power industry in the state of Washington. But no doubt he had been advised this situation was one that made the private utilities see red.

In Memphis, on October 15, the Republican candidate changed his tune and had nothing but kind words for the locally popular Tennessee Valley Authority, which he declared "has served rural areas well and . . . helped conserve natural resources, control floods, and promote national defense." But while he described the T. V. A. as "a great experiment" and promised if elected not to impair its effectiveness, he said it should not be regarded as a "rigid pattern for such development in other regions." We find his logic a little hard to follow. If an experiment is an admitted success, does it make sense to disregard its lessons when tackling parallel problems in other areas?

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 369
A Year of Tory Rule 372

ARTICLES

The General Assembly Opens *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 373
Does Eisenhower Mean War? *by D. F. Fleming* 374
California's Crisis in Freedom *by Eason Monroe* 377
M. Pinay's Program *by Politicus* 378
John Dewey: 1859-1952 *by A. H. Johnson* 381

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Apparition of Splendor *A Poem by Marianne Moore* 383
In My Father's House *by Ernest Jones* 383
Book of Wisdom *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 384
"John Brown of the Half-Breeds" *by J. B. Brebner* 385
The Lives of Eisenstein *by Gerald Weales* 386
Liberal Statesman *by Elizabeth Stevenson* 387
The Hero and the Man *by George Genzmer* 388
Touchstones and Techniques *by Harold Brown* 389
Canada—A Nation *by Keith Hutchison* 390
The Great Adventure *by Adrienne Foulke* 391
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 391
Books in Brief 392
Films *by Manny Farber* 393
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 394
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 395

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 396

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 487 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 396

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

The Battle of Columbia

The capacity to delegate powers is said to be the mark of a great executive, but it can be carried too far. The faculty of Columbia University has apparently been able to bear with equanimity the fact that General Eisenhower has let somebody else run the institution during most of his tenure as president. The fact that ever since Chicago he has let Somebody Else run his campaign for the Presidency of the United States is one of the main counts on which some three hundred members of the faculty and staff of the university have now declared their support of Adlai Stevenson in a full-page advertisement in the New York *Times*. Meanwhile Dean Carl W. Ackerman, in a telegram printed in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, has confirmed the rumor that officers of the university had been urged not to express their preferences in the Presidential race so that Columbia might not be thrust into the campaign—and paid his respects to this request. "Silence on political issues," he said, "is not academic freedom. Therefore I am announcing my support of Governor Stevenson." And he went on to say that Eisenhower himself had thrust the university into politics by using its name and property for campaign purposes. Only thirty members of the faculty have so far declared for Eisenhower, and though Columbia is not Maine, Republicans can take little comfort from this landslide for Stevenson in the "constituency" where Eisenhower has had his first experience as a civilian executive.

A Republican Recession?

More often than not in Presidential election years the stock market stages a pre-poll rally: this year we seem to be heading toward a pre-poll slump. For some months stock trading has been dull and slow, and although the Dow-Jones averages show only a moderate downward trend, many popular issues have fallen far below the high levels they reached earlier this year.

It is probably safe to assume that a large majority of investors are Republicans, but it does not follow that the present market bearishness portends a Democratic victory. On the contrary, stock prices seem to be dropping on the prospects that Eisenhower will win. Recently one of the best-known investment services pointed out that if the party's campaign and program could be taken at face value, the advent of a Republican Administration would mean the release of deflationary forces. Investors were warned therefore to keep in mind the possibility of a recession which, even if it proved short and healthy, would cause a serious setback in profits and a sharp slump in stock prices.

Since, generally speaking, investors have seldom "had it so good" as in the past twelve years, the approach of November 4 is causing an outbreak of schizophrenia among the well-heeled. At least one stalwart but un-

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happy Republican has been overheard thinking aloud in a brokerage office: "I'm beginning to wonder whether it isn't better to have high taxes and a high income than lower taxes and no income."

Running Mates and Their Records

Senator Sparkman's record on civil rights has provided Republican orators and newspapers with some of their best ammunition against the Democratic ticket. In an editorial last week the New York *Herald Tribune* listed Sparkman's votes against civil-rights measures since 1937. There were twenty-three of them and they were all negative.

The record is deplorable; certainly this journal would be the last to soft-pedal it. But when the *Herald Tribune* uses it to prove Governor Stevenson a hypocrite, we consider that no less deplorable. The Governor has not, as the *Herald Tribune* says, merely "professed" to be crusading for civil rights. He has gone into the South and defended the party pledge on civil rights before hostile audiences, and for his courage forfeited the support of prominent Southern Democrats. If this is hypocrisy, we wish General Eisenhower had more of the same brand.

As for Sparkman, his sins are those he was born and bred to. Perhaps he can expiate them if he has a chance to serve as Vice-President under Stevenson. But he has virtues as well, and they shine with a brilliant luster when you compare him with his opposite number on the Republican ticket. Let's take a few sample votes in the Eighty-second Congress:

Aid to India: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Limit spending for Point 4: Sparkman, no; Nixon, yes.

Control meat prices: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

More public housing: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Reorganize Internal Revenue Bureau: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Aid to medical schools: Sparkman, yes; Nixon no.

Amend the McCarran Immigration Act: Sparkman, yes; Nixon, no.

Override the President's veto of McCarran act: Sparkman, no; Nixon, yes.

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Franco-American Aid Controversy

M. Pinay was lucky: the incident created by our refusal to grant the $650,000,000 in aid upon which he had counted to balance his budget for 1953 turned out to be his political salvation. He had been uneasy about the reconvening of the National Assembly, knowing that during the recess members had grown extremely impatient with the "soft" policy toward Washington and Bonn attributed to Foreign Minister Schuman. Rumors of a Cabinet crisis were multiplying.

In that difficult hour American diplomacy came to the Premier's rescue. Along with a formal letter from Washington advising the French government that it could not expect the full sum of $650,000,000, Ambassador James C. Dunn handed to M. Gaillard, Under Secretary of State, a communication never intended for French official eyes. In effect it stated that the French government would have to increase its aramament budget if it wanted more United States aid. M. Pinay's crisp rejection of this note momentarily deflected the storm brewing in the Assembly and made him almost a national hero.

A few days later, however, Edouard Herriot's sensational criticism of the European Army Treaty confronted the Premier with new difficulties. By announcing that he opposes changes in the treaty as proposed by Herriot and his friends, M. Pinay is heading toward a serious crisis. Behind it lies not only the fear of Germany but the strain on the French people caused by the effort to carry out a program of rearmament beyond their strength. Readers will find elsewhere in this issue an analysis by a leading French official of the real factors underlying the tension in the Franco-American "misalliance."

American-Trained Guerrillas?

As if feeling against Germany's rearmament were not strong enough already, especially in France, the revelation by Minister President August Zinn of Hesse that German guerrillas have been organized by the United States high command has provided the opposition with fresh arguments. Herr Zinn told a stunned legislature that American officers, at a secret camp in the Odenwald, had trained members of the neo-Nazi German Youth Association for action in the event of a Russian invasion. Although the group was dissolved a month or two ago, German police rounded up some of its leaders and seized lists of persons destined for liquidation when the Russians arrived. Among them were a few Communists and a much larger number of Socialists, including Erich Ollenhauer, who succeeded Schumacher as party leader; Max Brauer, mayor of Hamburg; Heinrich Zinnkann, Interior Minister of Hesse. So far no statement has come out of Washington, but an official explanation is urgently called for. And it had better be a good one.

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A Year of Tory Rule

JUST a year ago enough British voters decided they "wanted a change" to give the Tory party a slender majority in the Commons and send Mr. Churchill back to Downing Street. Today, opinion polls indicate, a new election would have a very different result. Large numbers of those who switched to the Tories last year have already decided that they have "had enough." For although the changes achieved by the Churchill regime have been less horrific than Labor supporters feared, they have alienated many independents without doing much to cheer the Tory regulars.

Food supplies in Britain now are less plentiful and more expensive than they were a year ago. The total number of unemployed is not much greater, but part-time is far more prevalent. That "bonfire of controls" forecast by Tory orators has proved a smoldering fire, giving no warmth to the champions of "economic freedom." The income-tax burden has been slightly reduced and some social-security payments have been increased, but for many workers such relief is quite insufficient compensation for the rise in the cost of living brought about by drastic reduction of the food subsidies.

The Tories can hardly be blamed for continued austerity in Britain; in fact, it does them credit, for lessened austerity in Britain's present straightened circumstances could not mean a larger total of consumers' goods but merely a less equal distribution. The Tories were at fault, however, for promising at the last election more than they could possibly perform. Now they are losing the voters they won by false pretenses.

A year ago it was plain enough that whichever party was returned to power in Britain its paramount task would be to cope with the balance-of-payments crisis that was threatening the country with bankruptcy—a task which necessarily precluded any relaxation of austerity. The Tories are now claiming credit, not unjustifiably, for bringing this situation under control. Since last March the drain on the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves has been stopped. Moreover, in the first half of this year Britain has achieved a small over-all surplus of £24,000,000, excluding American aid, in its international trading accounts, which compares with a deficit of £394,000,000 in the second half of 1951.

These results have been made possible by a sharp reduction of dollar imports by both Britain and other countries in the sterling area. In addition, Britain has not only expanded exports to a moderate extent but enjoyed an improvement in its terms of trade. That is to say, import prices have declined while export prices have risen, so that a given volume of exports pays for a larger amount of imports than it did a year ago.

Although the immediate crisis has been eased, Britain's external financial problem is by no means solved. Limitation of imports may be a necessary expedient, but it is a most unsatisfactory one, particularly for a country whose standard of living depends on its capacity to import. The only tolerable solution for the problem is a vast expansion of exports, something which is very hard to achieve in a world market that has been severely restricted by the cold war. Moreover, in this reduced market Britain is meeting increasingly stiff competition from Germany and Japan, countries whose need to export is no less than its own.

Consequently it is of great importance for Britain to hold down its internal price level. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, claims that as a result of Tory policies the internal situation is "a good deal less inflationary than a year ago," while "unwise deflation" has been avoided. In a recent speech to London bankers he noted four signs of reduced strain. There had been, he said, a 4 per cent decline in personal spending this year, an improvement in labor mobility, a slackening in the rate of increase of wages and prices compared with 1951, and a substantial fall in the volume of private credit.

However, as the London financial press has been emphasizing, the anti-inflationary effects of the decline in private credit have been offset this year by government borrowing from the banks which add indirectly to the total supply of money. Despite much talk of economy by the Tories, government expenditure has risen sharply in the first six months of the current fiscal year, while revenue has fallen slightly. As a result, the deficit on September 30 was nearly double that of a year before.

Mr. Butler claims that this imbalance will shortly be corrected. Defense expenditures, he says, are being more evenly spread this year than last, and revenue from new taxes will soon begin to appear in the national accounts. But while the deficit will doubtless be trimmed in the next six months, it is not likely that the surplus for which Mr. Butler budgeted last spring will be achieved.

The Tory party conference a few days ago passed by a large majority a resolution declaring that "public expenditure has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." In the course of the debate Richard Law, M. P., said: "Continued rise in public expenditure is causing bewilderment among people who supported the party at the last election." Replying, Mr. Butler pointed out that "big economies could only be achieved by big changes in policy."

Quite so! the conservative British press is saying; but when are we going to get the changes in policy? There is the rub. In Britain there are only two possibilities of really large economies—wholesale slashing of the social services or drastic reduction of the defense program. That is a choice the Tory government—and the leaders of the Labor opposition as well—still refuse to face.

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The General Assembly Opens

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE seventh General Assembly of the United Nations opened on October 14 in its glamorous new hall and in an atmosphere of healthy realism. The retiring president, Luis Padilla Nervo, rendered a service to the organization by making it impossible, by the force of his example, for the speakers who followed him to adopt the empty and conventional tone usual at this sort of inaugural ceremony. Before turning over the gavel to his successor, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, he summed up the work of the previous Assembly in a strong, courageous speech. One of his comments set the stage for the coming Assembly debates: "In the field of political accomplishment the credit side of this year is not very heartening. . . . All the great questions pending before us have either become alarmingly more acute, or they have fallen, hopeless of immediate solution, into inextricable labyrinths."

In Paris last winter I was able to watch at close range the effort made by Dr. Padilla Nervo to extricate the Sixth Assembly from the labyrinth into which it had been driven by the refusal of certain powers to permit the least shadow of agreement between the great opposing blocs. It was a torture for him, presiding over the secret sessions of the committee trying to reconcile the views of East and West, to realize that with a little more good will something practical might have resulted from the Sixth Assembly.

The most significant aspect of the Mexican delegate's opening speech last week was that it killed the legend that the present situation of the United Nations, like the international situation in general, is exclusively the fault of Mr. Vishinsky and his associates.

Mr. Pearson, in turn, spoke of the obstacles which keep the U. N. from fulfilling its essential mission of assuring peace. "To avoid the ultimate tragedy of war, we must remove the black shadow of tension and anxiety by finding, through international action, a solution to present problems which will permit peoples and governments to live together, if not on the basis of friendship, at least on that of mutual toleration and understanding." Certain nuances in the attitude adopted by the Soviet delegation toward the new president suggested an inclination to avoid conflict with Mr. Pearson. This could be part of the Soviet design to improve relations with the British Commonwealth, a design to which the presence in the delegation of Mr. Gromyko, new Soviet ambassador to the Court of St. James's, is surely related.

For the rest, it is interesting to observe, through their private comments, how closely the shrewdest delegates have been following recent developments in Moscow. One delegate, not from a country in the Eastern bloc, went so far as to say that what happened in the Kremlin might prove more important than what happens in this Assembly. Stalin's speech on October 15 laying down a policy which combines collaboration with democratic parties in popular fronts with overtures toward the Western nations has been the subject of intense speculation. It is believed the Kremlin has decided that no direct approach to the United States will change American policy and is therefore going to do its best to encourage differences between the United States and its European partners.

The effect has already been felt in London and Paris. In both capitals there has been a revival of rumors that Moscow will offer the Western European countries non-aggression pacts and all sorts of trade agreements if they will drop their alliance with the United States. The leaders in the Kremlin are too realistic not to recognize the difficulties in such an operation, but they evidently intend to try it out on the delegations in the present Assembly. This alone doubtless justified sending to New York the best Russian diplomatic team it was possible to put together. On a minor question concerning the composition of the Steering Committee, Mr. Gromyko obtained twenty-five votes against twenty-seven. Actually, through the president's inadvertence, two abstentions—those of Pakistan and Honduras—were counted as affirmative votes. The result suggests that if it was difficult in the last Assembly for the American delegation to maintain a sure majority, it may be still harder in this one.

But obviously a delegation such as that which Mr. Vishinsky heads has not been sent to fight battles over details. It is on the greatest issue before the Assembly—Korea—that Western reactions will be seriously tested. After three days of consultations with the countries that would be expected to provide military and political support were a more aggressive Korean policy decided on, Secretary Acheson revised his original text and delivered a very moderate speech. While leaving the way open to all possible proposals, Mr. Acheson failed to make any himself; so the war issue remained exactly where it was before he spoke. Clearly his main object was to prevent, at the very start of the Assembly, any break in the Atlantic majority.

But if Mr. Acheson felt obliged to talk generalities, Mr. Vishinsky on the contrary vehemently demanded serious consideration of the proposal made on October 8 by the Communist negotiators in Korea. He did not entirely rule out other possibilities either, but he made it clear that if the American generals at Panmunjom could at any moment suspend discussion of the Communist terms, American diplomats at the U. N. would find it much harder to do so. One thing seems sure: until a solution appears on the horizon, Korea will continue to dominate the Seventh Assembly.

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Does Eisenhower Mean War?

BY D. F. FLEMING

THERE is a strong probability that the coming election will be decided by the emotions of the American people—by their dislike or hatred of Truman, by the appeal of Eisenhower and Nixon. Yet the issue which should decide it is this: "Which candidate is most likely to save us from a third world war?

Does Eisenhower mean war? Of course he does not in the personal sense. He says, "Peace is my passion," and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Yet the question remains whether he would not be more likely than Stevenson to lead us into that catastrophe.

No honest student of world politics can blink the fact that we are likely to move on into another world war whichever ticket is elected. The victors of the last war fell out over Eastern Europe in 1945-46. In 1947 the Truman Administration proclaimed the containment of both Russia and communism and began to encircle the Soviets with military force, including a giant ring of air bases, a policy which has won the overwhelming support of our public-opinion makers —press, magazines, radio, and television. When this policy was put to the test in Korea we rushed to amass overwhelming force.

For the first time in our history we are at the very center of world politics. We are the strongest nation in the world and the leader of one side in a power struggle. Our responsibility for another global war will not be marginal. It is likely to be primary. The other side may force the issue, but we certainly have the power to do so and thousands of our leaders and citizens have the disposition. Winning every war and every game is our tradition. We hate and fear communism. And we have embarked on a gigantic arms race which will end as all the others have, in a stupendous tragedy, unless Washington puts a firm hand on the brakes.

In determining whose hand that is to be we need to ask ourselves several questions about the opposing candidates and give the matter the coldest, hardest thought of which we are capable.

1. *Will our next President lead a crusade to liberate the Communist world?* We have been moving toward such a crusade with increasing momentum since 1945. Powerful racial and religious forces are involved, and also our resentment at losing Eastern Europe and China.

The liberation idea flared up in the open in Eisenhower's speech to the American Legion on August 25. The Republican nominee solemnly called the roll of all the countries in Europe and Asia which have succumbed to communism and asserted that their people, "terrorized, beaten down," were working hard to help the Kremlin achieve "the economic containment and gradual strangulation of America."

If this is so, is it not our duty to make a "preventive" war on Russia, if only to stop its economic growth?

But there is also our liberation duty. Said Eisenhower: "We can never rest—and we must so inform all the world, including the Kremlin—that until the enslaved nations of the world have in the fulness of freedom the right to choose their own path, that then, and then only, can we say that there is a possible way of living peacefully and permanently with communism in the world." This was as plain an avowal as could be made of a determination to destroy communism in all the many nations enumerated. The advance copy of the speech even contained this unmistakable threat of war: "Our government, once and for all, with cold finality, must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognize the slightest permanence in Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia . . . never shall we rest content until the tidal mud of aggressive communism has receded within its own borders."

In his Philadelphia speech on September 5 Eisenhower retreated. He spoke repeatedly of using only peaceful means to bring hope to "the world's enslaved peoples." And he added the terrible truth that in this day of frightful weapons "victory is impossible in a global war. The beginning of such a war would be a loss from which the world could not recover in a millennium."

It is not enough, however, to know that. The acts and words which would destroy our civilization must be avoided. As the London *Economist* said on August 30:

> Unhappily "liberation" applied to Eastern Europe —and Asia—means either the risk of war or it means nothing. There is no way in the foreseeable future by which Poland and Czechoslovakia can be released from Soviet bondage except by force of arms. In Asia the situation is even more discouraging, since the bulk of the Chinese would probably actively resist "liberation." Even to incite Eastern Europeans to seek for liberation entails the risk of world war, for if they were to rise against their Russian masters—as the Poles did in 1864 —America and its allies would have the choice of intervening to support the rebels or of suffering the shame that came Palmerston's way. "Liberation" entails no risk of war only when it means nothing.

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Yet in his Cincinnati speech, on September 23, Eisenhower was again talking of "opening opportunities in Eastern Europe" while asserting that this is "the farthest thing from an act of war." After these warnings no Eisenhower voter can complain if he finds himself led into a liberation crusade which would begin by destroying Western Europe and end by barbarizing half the earth.

Would Stevenson be any better insurance against the atomic destruction of some of our great cities and a trillion-dollar debt with consequent galloping inflation? Stevenson starts with a plank in the Democratic platform looking forward to the day when all the nations under Soviet domination, in Europe and Asia, will "again take their rightful place in the community of free nations." He has behind him, also, liberation pledges by Truman which were substantially as strong as Eisenhower's. Yet he told the Polish people of Hamtramck, Michigan, on September 2 that "the cruel grip of Soviet tyranny upon your friends and relatives" could not be broken by awakening false hopes that would only lead them to the execution squads, or by starting a war that would "liberate only broken, silent, and empty lands." And he continued: "Not in the ashes of another world war, only in the atmosphere of a peaceful world, can the reaffirmation of the right of self-determination have any meaning, or can the enslaved nations be free and independent again." These words reveal courage and the insight of a statesman. They are in accord with the proposal made by British Field Marshal Slim on August 22—that the West try to split off the satellites by trade and diplomacy. Such a policy makes sense. If the terrific heat of our "liberation" threat were turned off, we might get somewhere in achieving defections from Moscow.

2. *Will the next President negotiate with the Communist powers?* This is an absolutely vital question, because the present stalemate cannot go on forever without slipping over into world war. The Korean war, in which we rightly defended the United Nations law against aggression, has to be settled, and all the great issues behind it have to be dealt with, including the future of Formosa and China's seat in the U. N. The division of Germany and Austria has to be ended by negotiation or accepted as permanent. The only other alternative is a world war, into which we could slide just as easily as we stole across the Thirty-eighth Parallel two years ago, on our way to liberate North Korea. The stage is set in Germany for a vaster Korea.

Stevenson has shown a clear understanding of these frightening realities. At San Francisco he said: "[Coexistence] will involve negotiation and adjustment—compromise but never appeasement—and I will never shrink from these if they advance the world toward secure peace." Then he added the comment: "A wise man does not try to hurry history." Compare this with Eisenhower's statement two weeks later, in connection with the "plain peril" of Stalinism in which we live, that we need "a government which is in a hurry to face its problems, however tough they may be."

I have searched Eisenhower's speeches carefully for some hint of willingness to negotiate and have found none. On the contrary, he has declared that "the more they talk of 'adjustment' and of 'compromise,' the more they encourage the Soviet Union to keep up aggressive pressure on them; and that very aggressive pressure in turn softens their will to oppose the Soviet."

In stark contrast to this avowal that the very thought of negotiation is self-defeating, Stevenson had said earlier, on September 1, "I tell you now that I will never fear to negotiate with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open the door to war." That sentence bears thinking about again and again.

3. *Will the next President's chief advisers work for peace or war?* It is generally assumed that Averell Harriman would be Stevenson's Secretary of State. Harriman is closely tied in with the Acheson policy of no negotiation with Russia until we have preponderant armed strength. On the other hand, when he spoke at Buffalo in August he showed that he understood the necessity of avoiding another world war. Besides, no one would expect him to dominate Stevenson.

John Foster Dulles, it is universally expected, would be Eisenhower's Secretary of State. It was he who announced on August 26, after an eighty-minute conference with Eisenhower, that the Presidential nominee would map a new foreign policy. "General Eisenhower," he said, "agreed with me again," and he proceeded to propose a policy of splitting the satellite states away from Russia. He insisted that we should never tolerate a divided Korea, Germany, or Austria and urged a Presidential declaration that we could never accept as a finality Russian rule over any of these states.

Later Dulles explained that we could aid the resistance movements in the satellite countries by dropping machine-guns and other supplies from the air—though actually this would invite the shooting down of the American planes engaged on such missions. On August 27, in a speech at Buffalo, he proposed to start the disintegration of the "empire of Soviet communism" by fostering passive resistance, slow-downs, non-cooperation, and industrial sabotage.

In a formal statement on September 3 Dulles said: "The aggressive despots must be slowed down and stopped from within, or we shall have to check them from without in the head-on collision of atomic war." This is a flat assertion that the only alternative to atomic war is a desperate campaign of internal subversion in eighteen Communist countries covering half of Europe and Asia.

The issue here is sharp and clear: Shall we go on from

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containment to roll-back? Dulles has been preaching roll-back for many months. As early as February 24, 1952, the New York *Times* reported a British belief that Dulles "contemplates positive efforts to split China from Russia and ultimately to overthrow the Mao regime." On February 13 Dulles declared that "the United States must let all the Far East know it would not stand idly by while any part of the world remained under the rule of a Communist or foreign dictator." This is a simple declaration of implacable war. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it, it would tell the Communist leaders everywhere that "we are going to keep up the cold war forever—or until it erupts into a hot war."

Dulles has given us a complete preview of what he would do as Secretary of State. His roll-back policy may satisfy all our belligerent instincts, but before we embark on it we should understand that, win or lose, it means the end of our world. In voting for a "change" on November 4 we should be clear that it includes a change from containment to roll-back.

4. *Will our new leader accept war in preference to depression?* This is one of the gravest hazards we face. Eisenhower has recognized the fact, saying repeatedly that we live in a "war economy." We do, and if the giant war orders are sharply reduced, we shall face the danger of world depression. The economy of Western Europe, already overburdened with armaments, is faltering visibly, open to grave trouble should there be even a mild recession in our dominant economy.

The Research Institute of America has recently warned American business men to prepare during the next two years for a "recession wider, deeper, and longer lasting" than any since the thirties. If the crisis comes, it will be met either by the development of a garrison state or by a return to the concepts and practices of the welfare state. Then we would really be impaled on the horns of the dilemma our hysteria had created. Would General Eisenhower, advised by the coterie of old military friends that would surely surround him, take the road to militarism or give us a bigger and better New Deal? Would his Taft-controlled Congress ever vote to distribute the abundance of our productive machine to the people instead of channeling it into the bottomless pit of war?

5. *Will our chosen leader drift into a final military showdown?* This question compels us to compare the temperament, experience, and training of the candidates. Eisenhower has always thought in military terms. He is one of the most democratic generals we have ever had, but we can judge him as a civilian leader only by his record since he became a candidate.

We find that at every turn he has surrendered to expediency. After Taft's long hold-out, Eisenhower accepted his terms so completely that even Walter Lippmann, one of the General's earliest supporters, observed ruefully: "If this is the way that General Eisenhower is going to toss off decisions in civil life, then his supporters have a lot to worry about." Before getting behind McCarthy and Jenner, the traducers of his great chief, General Marshall, Eisenhower really had a struggle. He was angry and distressed, but he took them both to his bosom. As Thomas L. Stokes remarked, "he surrendered in advance to a bunch of bawling top sergeants." Again in the Nixon affair Eisenhower was angry when he learned that his running-mate had compromised his anti-corruption drive by quietly taking $18,000 from a millionaires' club. He telegraphed Nixon to come to see him "at once," saying, "my personal decision will be based on a personal conclusion." But in the end he let Nixon submit the issue to his fans in an emotional television appeal and ratified this "decision" by embracing "my boy" Dick.

Eisenhower's conduct on these three crucial occasions does not indicate that in the crises of the cold war which lie ahead he would weigh all the consequences and do what he believed right. It indicates rather that he would yield to the loudest clamor or the strongest pressures. Moreover, Eisenhower has staked his final place in history on opposing Russia in Europe. He has come home to get into his own hands the full power to do so.

Is it possible to escape the conclusion that Eisenhower has steadily diminished in stature from the day he took off his five stars? And is it not equally plain that Stevenson has grown from the day of his nomination? Eisenhower waited until he was in the North to speak strongly about civil rights. Stevenson said his piece courageously in Richmond, Virginia. Stevenson told the American Legion that he would resist its pressures, and he has defied the oil lobby. Everywhere he has told pressure groups, face to face, that he would protect the interests of the whole people. His entire campaign has been a solid guaranty that if the question of plunging into another world war is placed on his desk he will study it from every possible angle and resist every popular cry for rash action.

This nation desperately needs strong, affirmative, and moral leadership. Are we to have it, or only drifting improvisations?

In assessing the probabilities of a global liberation war we should keep in mind one perilous factor—Nixon's presence at Eisenhower's side. Here is a young man whose sole qualification to be President of the United States is the fact that he is a relentless red-hunter. Therefore we may be about to put him where only one life stands between him and the chance to be the greatest gangbuster of all time—the man who smashed world communism. When our gigantic war machine is ready, will it be Nixon who commands it? If this adventurous young man should be in the White House when a grave crisis in the cold war comes, what would he do? Would

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anyone be able to sleep in his bed pending the outcome? The statistical chance that Nixon would become President is not small.

European opinion, with its deep understanding of what an American liberation crusade would mean, has swung steadily away from Eisenhower and toward Stevenson. Dispatches in the New York *Times* of August 29, September 4, and 26 told the story. "Dulles Adds to Europe's Fears"; "Europeans were amazed and alarmed" by Eisenhower's Legion speech; they were "puzzled by General Eisenhower's reference to China as a captive of Moscow, which few believe it is."

The people of Western Europe know that one more war, a war to "liberate" the Communist lands, would mean millions of deaths and ruin for the survivors forever afterward. Can the exuberant Americans be made to understand, in time, that essentially the same fate would await them?

California's Crisis in Freedom

BY EASON MONROE

Los Angeles

McCARTHYISM is on the ballot in California. Among the twenty-four propositions to be voted on this November are two, offered as amendments to the state constitution, which call upon the citizens to say whether or not they favor witch-hunting, repression of public employees, "loyalty oaths," and the other specifics in the McCarthy doctrine.

Proposition 5, entitled "Subversive Persons and Groups," runs as follows:

> Notwithstanding any other provisions of this constitution, no person or organization which advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or the state by force or violence or other unlawful means or who advocates the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities shall: (a) hold any office or employment under this state, including but not limited to the University of California, or with any county, city, etc. . . . or (b) receive any exemption from any tax imposed by this state or any county, city, etc.

In its final sentence—the sting in the tail—it adds: "The legislature shall enact such laws as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this section." What the 1953 California legislature might bring forth under this mandate is something for a pessimist to think about.

Proposition 6 seeks to establish the constitutionality of the Levering act, passed by the legislature in September, 1950, during a five-day hysterical civil-defense session. The Levering act first declares all California public employees to be "civil-defense workers subject to such civil-defense activities as may be assigned to them by their superiors or by law." Then it imposes upon all "civil-defense workers" a new test oath as a condition for compensation.

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It so happens that the California constitution as originally approved 102 years ago sets forth a simple, positive oath for all "holders of public office or public trust" and then specifically declares that "no other oath, declaration, or test shall be required." Largely on this firm constitutional ground California's Third District Appellate Court stood unanimously against the oath required of the staff by the regents of the University of California and ordered the reinstatement of the eighteen who refused to sign it.

The state Supreme Court recently ruled that the Regents' Oath was unconstitutional but upheld the constitutionality of the Levering act. The timing of the decisions —October 17—suggests that the court thought to precipitate a "no" vote on Propositions 5 and 6. But if the Regents' Oath is unconstitutional, then the Levering act would also be invalid—a point argued with great force by Justice Jesse W. Carter in a dissenting opinion.

The oath that the California constitution now requires of all "holders of public office and public trust" reads:

> I swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ———, according to the best of my ability.

The Levering act requires the following oath:

> I swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of California; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.
>
> And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that now advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state

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of California by force or violence or other unlawful means; that within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath (or affirmation) I have not been a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of California by force or violence or other unlawful means except as follows (if no affiliations, write in the words "No Exceptions"): and that during such time as I hold the office of ——— I will not advocate nor become a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of California by force or violence or other unlawful means.

Proposition 6 not only seeks to substitute this for the original oath but has the effrontery to conclude with the time-honored words of the 1850 guaranty against such tests: "No other oath, declaration, or test shall be required as a qualification for any public office or employment."

Both propositions specifically mention the faculty of the University of California as subject to their provisions.

The impetus for these propositions comes from the cold war and the hysterical anti-communism which is undermining individual dignity, job security, social wisdom, and political sanity. Their authors are the conservative legislators Harold Levering of Santa Monica and John Babbage of Riverside. But of course they are backed by State Senator Jack Tenney, who had a corner on witch-hunting in California long before McCarthy made it a national racket. After failing to obtain a nomination for Congress, Tenney consented to become the Vice-Presidential candidate of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party.

One by one, during the last few weeks, leading organizations in California have come out against the proposed amendments. The State Central Committee of the Democratic Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League of Women Voters, the California Federation of Labor, the California Federation of Teachers, the state C I. O. are on record against one or both. Numerous professional, church, and civic organizations have voiced objections. The influential San Francisco *Chronicle* has printed editorials against Proposition 5. But no vigorous campaign has been waged to defeat either measure. The press in general is wary or uninterested. The Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act, formed in November, 1950, has been hampered by lack of funds.

Informed citizens understand that if the propositions pass, further repressions will follow. But many are not informed and are apparently unconcerned. Blinded by TV political whoop-de-doo, deafened by the blare of radio speeches, left indifferent or confused by the press, the California voter will casually mark his ballot "yes" or "no" on two proposals which may have more effect on his future welfare than any other measure on the slate.

M. Pinay's Program

BY POLITICUS

[*Recent dispatches from France have emphasized the government's concern with external problems—North Africa, the Saar, American aid. Prime Minister Pinay has won new popularity by denouncing U. N. "intervention" in Tunisia and rejecting a U. S. note indicating the conditions on which further aid would be forthcoming as "inadmissible" interference in internal French affairs. But Pinay's major worry is still the economic and financial condition of France, and during the current session of the National Assembly he will stand or fall on his success in staving off further inflation. In the following article an eminent French economist explains the background of the problem and discusses the limitations of the Pinay program adopted last spring.*]

Paris

SINCE the end of the war all French governments have had to face a trying economic and financial situation. Their efforts to get the economy on an even keel again have been hampered by a completely new social set-up and by structural problems that are still unsolved.

Three tasks had to be carried on simultaneously—reconstruction, modernization of industry, and rearmament. In addition, France has for years been waging an exhausting war in Indo-China. An increase in the resources devoted to any one of these objectives obviously reduces the means available for achieving the others. And any increase in the total volume of investment limits the amount of goods available for consumption—that is to say, impedes improvement of the standard of living. At the same time expanding production has required heavy imports of machinery and raw materials, to finance which France, with its official gold and dollar reserves practically exhausted, has had to depend on the great world lender, America.

The new social context within which post-war French governments have had to operate has several different facets. First, there is the nationalization program of 1945-46 which affected a number of key industries, including coal mining, public utilities, banking, and insurance. Second, there is the institution of a broad system of social security. Unlike the English system, which has been

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financed mainly through the budget, social security in France is paid for by a levy on pay rolls, amounting to from 40 to 45 per cent of the total. As a cost of production this charge is fully reflected in prices, with the result that social security has not meant a shift of real incomes from the rich to the poor but rather a redistribution among several low-income groups. Young workers, unmarried and in good health, for instance, pay through increased prices for family allowances and old-age pensions.

A third aspect of the new social set-up is the split in the labor world which has divided the pro-Communist unions of the C. G. T. from the so-called "free unions" and the organizations of Catholic workers. This rupture has seriously weakened labor both industrially and politically. At no time in its history has the influential French Socialist Party been so lacking in dynamism and in fresh ideas.

AMONG the structural flaws in the French economy first place must be given to the fiscal system. Inefficient and obsolete, it relies mostly on sales taxes and other indirect imposts, and weighs heavily on industrial producers and wage-earners while sparing farmers, shopkeepers, and professionals. Its "international corollary" has been a constant flight of capital abroad, estimated by the Economic Committee for Europe at $400,000,000 to $600,000,000 annually, which of course has increased French dependence on foreign loans.

Another structural defect is a costly and inequitable distribution system which unduly increases prices of consumer goods. This, in turn, is related to the variegated pattern of French industry, which includes thoroughly modern units, comparable to those in America, side by side with antiquated and badly equipped plants. The normal evolution of the capitalist system should have implied the gradual disappearance of these obsolete concerns, but most of them have managed to survive either by means of formal price agreements or through a kind of social and economic inertia. Another factor has been inflation, which has kept demand high enough to enable marginal producers to set prices covering their costs. The bonanza profits thus made possible for modernized plants help to explain why many French industrialists who pay lip-service to "stability" are at heart inflationists.

Since 1945 fifteen different Cabinets have held office in France: none has been able to overcome these economic difficulties. Under each Prime Minister, the Minister for Defense has constantly requested more money for armaments and Indo-China; the Minister of Reconstruction, more money for housing; M. Jean Monnet, Commissaire au Plan, more money for plant equipment. Willingly or unwillingly successive Ministers of Finance have footed the bill through inflation or higher indirect taxes or both. Thus the trend of prices was quite steadily upward even before the Korean war gave them a new fillip.

Premier Pinay

One single voice in the wilderness has condemned this rake's progress. With great courage, with intellectual and moral authority—but lonesome and without a political following—M. Pierre Mendès-France has again and again reminded the French Assembly that the country could not indefinitely bear the triple burden of investment, reconstruction, and rearmament, including the Indo-China war. France has to choose. To M. Mendès-France the choice seems fairly clear—less spending on arms and Indo-China.

AGAINST this backdrop M. Pinay stepped on to the stage in March, 1952. In his early sixties, Pinay is an old-fashioned parliamentarian who as deputy and senator has for years represented the Département de la Loire, a coal-mining and industrial district in central France. He has the engaging charm, the art of quiet accommodation, the simple and modest brand of humanity so typical of the traditional French politician. Long Mayor of Saint-Chamond, an important steel center, Pinay has kept aloof from the local steel lords. As owner of a family tannery, he feels more at home with the small business men through whom he keeps his finger on the pulse of public opinion while listening patiently to their many troubles.

M. Pinay has little taste for big business, industrial combines, or cartels in general. This does not indicate left-wing opinions but rather a right-wing distrust of all "big powers," including the government bureaucracy with which the trusts too often maintain friendly relations and from which they recruit their best employees. It follows that the Prime Minister has also slight sympathy with the nationalized industries and not too much patience with trade unions. He believes in personal contacts, in human give-and-take. His social ideal, probably, is "the good boss" whose paternal virtues would make unions unnecessary.

These characteristics explain why M. Pinay is anti-inflationist and anti-devaluationist. For him, "Défendre la France!" means to fight for honest producers, honest

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farmers and workers—for those who do not gamble. True, some big moneyed interests also support that policy. For while many French industrialists favor inflation, others, particularly those who buy raw materials abroad and sell finished products in France, fear that devaluation would increase their costs without compensatory increases of profit. Besides, they realize that devaluation might lead to commercial "liberalism," to the lowering of tariffs and quotas, as was the case from 1949 to the middle of 1951. They shiver at the very idea, for what such producers want is a closed market in France and the French overseas territories so that they may quietly exploit consumers without any foreign competition.

WHEN the Cabinet of M. Pinay was organized on March 8 it faced three major problems:

1. The burden of military, reconstruction, and investment expenditure made balancing the budget extremely difficult. The elections of June, 1951, had been a real success for the right-wing bloc of the so-called "Independents and Peasants," who were stubbornly opposed to tax increases. Yet the political instability that had prevailed since those elections appeared to rule out borrowing as an alternative to new taxes.

2. The inflationary trend, beginning in the Western world with the outbreak of the Korean war, had continued relentlessly in France, which was harder hit by inflation than any other country. Living costs had mounted 40 per cent in less than two years, while wages had been boosted 50 per cent. M. René Pleven, Prime Minister during the second half of 1951, had taken the responsibility of increasing the price of wheat by 40 per cent and simultaneously raising wages 15 per cent, and this at a time when world prices were beginning to decline. Moreover, a coalition of the R. P. F., Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Communists was advocating a sliding-scale system, tying wages to the cost-of-living index—a highly dangerous proposal.

3. French prices were so much higher than those in other countries that exports had fallen to a new low. France was in default to the European Payments Union, and in a desperate effort to right its balance of payments had abolished those measures to relax import restrictions which had been passed under joint pressure from the United States and the Office of European Economic Cooperation. The risk of enforced devaluation was indicated by a black-market dollar rate of 450 compared to the official quotation of 350.

M. Pinay had to choose, and choose quickly, between two conflicting policies. Either he had to raise taxes, prices, and wages to new highs and accept devaluation as an accomplished fact, or he could try to achieve stability by building up "confidence." Adoption of the second course was made possible politically by the support of a fairly important section of the R. P. F., which preferred stability now to dubious victory under General de Gaulle in the future.

The first fight was over the budget. The previous Cabinet, headed by M. Edgar Faure, had asked for a total of 3,700 billion francs (about $11 billion), including 1,270 billion for defense, 400 billion for reconstruction, and 392 billion for investment. Although new taxes were proposed, a budgetary deficit of 330 billion seemed unavoidable.

Pinay decided to maintain military expenditure but to cut reconstruction and investment by 58 billion francs and to postpone appropriations for these purposes of another 95 billion until this amount could be covered out of the proceeds of a new loan. All proposals for new taxes were thrust aside, and the government announced that it would make every effort to lower the cost of living. On this assurance, the Socialists, although voting consistently against the government, abstained from violent attacks and the non-Communist unions adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

Before launching its new loan, the government granted full amnesty to tax evaders, hoping that hoarders would thereby be encouraged to lend some of their huge holdings of gold and currency to the Treasury. Issued at 3½ per cent with a gold-guaranty clause, the loan was neither a complete success nor an abject failure. On the whole, though, the French peasants, the great hoarders, remained lukewarm, and the total of new money subscribed—195 billion francs, including 15 billion in gold—was 95 billion below expectations.

THE keystone of M. Pinay's program was price policy, and here his plans were aided by the easier state of world commodity markets. His idea was to "negotiate" price cuts with business groups instead of imposing them by "authoritarian means." Success depended on two prerequisites—the consent of the business and farm leaders and the voluntary discipline of the rank and file once such consent was given.

Meanwhile all new price increases were forbidden. Prices of coal and coke, both nationalized items, were actually cut, permitting a reduction in steel prices. This in turn was extended to agricultural implements and fertilizers to reconcile the wheat-growers, who had been asking for a 10 to 15 per cent increase, to the price freeze. At the same time a seasonal spring drop in dairy goods and wine helped to convince housewives that the government was in earnest.

In the case of textiles and footwear the government was less successful. The fall in world prices of wool, cotton, and leather had cut costs to French producers and made price reductions possible. But wholesalers and re-

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tailers, loaded with inventories purchased at higher prices, refused flatly to sell at the lower replacement costs. In the service trades, too, the "mutual consent" policy proved a failure, and no reductions were noted in the charges of laundries, cleaners, hairdressers, and the like. Enthusiastic as the small business men were over the "no new tax" policy, and still more over the fiscal amnesty, they did not sincerely believe in the possibility of stabilization. Thus these men, Pinay's friends, betrayed him.

Despite such failures a measure of success was achieved. Between March and July the cost of living fell about 4½ per cent, with food prices declining 3½ per cent and manufactured goods accounting for the balance. Even this modest drop was an improvement, since it staved off a new round of inflation and made possible the passage in July of the sliding-scale law. Yet clearly the menace of inflation remains. In August the cost-of-living index rose to 144.8, two points above the July low, and the September figure, about to be published, is expected to be still higher. If this rise continues until the index touches 149, the sliding-scale law requires a wage increase which may well set off a new bout of inflation.

Meanwhile the foreign-trade position of France continues to deteriorate. One reason is the abnormal spread between French and foreign prices—20 and 30 per cent in the case of automobiles, industrial machinery, and other mechanical goods, 10 and 20 per cent in the case of textiles. Devaluation would be a ruinous way of closing this gap, since France imports so much more than it sells abroad. But the present method of alleviating the situation, the grant of extensive subsidies to exporters, is costly and a far cry from that good old liberalism advocated by M. Pinay's supporters.

Thus this month, as the Assembly reconvenes, the major economic problems of France remain unsolved. M. Pinay still has to grapple with an unbalanced budget, with inflationary tendencies, with foreign-trade deficits. Can old-fashioned liberal economics provide the answers he is seeking? Or will France suffer another period of political confusion and economic chaos before it finds a government willing and able to mobilize the great potential economic strength of the country by bold and progressive policies?

John Dewey: 1859-1952

BY A. H. JOHNSON

IT IS too early to estimate exactly the impact of John Dewey on the world in which he lived. Yet even now it is clear that his influence has been a decisive factor in the lives of millions of men, women, and children, not only in the United States but all over the globe. His philosophy of education is widely known and thoroughly implemented. His creative ideas in the realms of logic, ethics, politics, aesthetics, and religion constitute the intellectual environment of many of the leaders of our time. These ideas, widespread and dynamic in the North American community, have helped to shape the life of the twentieth century, giving it some of its most distinctive characteristics.

The philosophy of John Dewey reflects the man and the environment in which he lived. John Dewey was born in Vermont. Early in life, immersed in the healthy democracy of a mid-nineteenth-century New England community, he learned the importance of each individual in the achievement of the common good. He came to respect the wisdom and abilities of the so-called "common" man. The expanding world of modern science soon caught and held his attention. The twin foundations of Dewey's thought and life are his devotion to the ideals of New England democracy and his acceptance of the techniques and attitudes of modern science. As a young professor of philosophy in the Middle West, Dewey found himself shifting from his early Hegelian philosophy to the "instrumentalism" with which his name is so closely associated. This trend was intensified when he moved on to Columbia University. He journeyed frequently and far afield, all over North America, to Europe, Asia, and Africa. Everywhere, he found an opportunity to convey by word and deed his convictions concerning the good life and the techniques by which it could be achieved.

Those who had the privilege of associating with John Dewey were struck by the tremendous stability of his personality, his honesty, quiet dignity, penetrating subdued humor, tenacity of purpose, respect for other men, profound opposition to all that interferes with the enrichment of human life. He was refreshingly free from the tricks of the intellectual huckster. He was too devoted to the pursuit of truth to stoop to short cuts or easy pseudo-solutions. The superficial "sophisticated" observer found his appearance and even his modes of expression somewhat "quaint," but the more penetrating quickly forgot his apparent lack of color, his hesitancy and involutions, and recognized that they were confront-

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ing a rare phenomenon—a great man thinking and acting with tremendous vigor and efficiency.

John Dewey spent his many years in furthering great causes—sweeping educational reforms, the founding of a "third" political party, the establishment of a greater degree of social justice. He sat on innumerable committees. He supported national and international agencies devoted to the common good. He met fully his responsibilities as a member of the faculty of Columbia University. His family life was an inspiration to all. In addition, he found time to be friend, indeed "good Samaritan," to countless men and women in all walks of life.

CERTAIN features of Dewey's philosophy have been discussed apart from their context and thus distorted. His emphasis on practical consequences, on the usefulness of ideas—the instrumentalist theory of knowledge—is one of the chief characteristics of his general philosophical position. But the practical consequences to be considered are not only those in the area of basic animal needs, such as food, clothing, and shelter: Dewey was very careful to deny that the pragmatic, or instrumentalist, approach was merely the reflection of American commercialism. For him aesthetic, moral, social, political, educational, and religious consequences were of fundamental importance. Indeed, a concern for human values was the determining factor in all his thought and action.

Dewey was devoted to the methods and, what is more important, the attitudes of science. But he was well aware that excessive concentration on the data of certain sciences gives a completely inadequate picture of the world of nature, that the person who refuses to go beyond the data of mathematics and physical science suffers from a ridiculous myopia. The one world of Dewey's naturalism offers many kinds of data, and no one can afford to overlook major segments of his world. In addition to mathematical and physical data, there are aesthetic, moral, religious, and many other types.

True, Dewey asserted that data can be known only by an observer who adopts the attitudes and uses the techniques of science. But these methods and attitudes do not assure exclusive "reality" to any specific type of data. Furthermore it must be noted that Dewey often stressed the importance of creative imagination in the search for knowledge. His emphasis on the value of poetic forms and the danger of tying ideas too closely to usefulness indicated a certain flexibility in his approach to the scientific method. In any case it should be obvious that for him scientific method was not restricted to the procedures of the physical-science laboratory. After all, he did not spend his life in a laboratory.

John Dewey is justly famous for his yeoman service in freeing men from "the dead hand of the past." Preoccupation with the achievements of the past, with its paralyzing effect on initiative, was one of his chief targets. Yet he was not a blind iconoclast. He respected knowledge of the past provided it could be applied to the solving of present problems. In the spirit of William James he advocated a fruitful fusion of old and new.

In the field of education John Dewey is regarded as the former high priest of the "learn-by-doing" cult. It is frequently forgotten that he was not a devotee of flexing muscles for the sake of flexing muscles. He stressed the importance of bodily activity, doing and making, manual dexterity, but only as a means of fostering individual initiative and self-reliance, of satisfying natural needs and desires, and of developing habits of social cooperation.

He saw that the foundations of a democratic way of life must be provided by the school system. Children should not only learn facts and skills but become accustomed to take part in projects for the common good and to appreciate the values with which democracy is concerned. Dewey's educational program has been called "chaotic" by its critics, and it is true that he deplored the imposition of meaningless discipline by some external force, but he recognized the necessity of sympathetic and intelligent assistance by a properly trained and motivated teacher. Such aid made it possible for the child to achieve self-discipline. The child, like the scientist, learns that in reaching goals, in satisfying needs, there are certain things which one simply cannot do, because they are contrary to the nature of things.

For all his respect for the so-called "common" man, Dewey was not naive or softly sentimental. Nor was majority opinion enthroned by him. He noted, sadly, that in many men a sense of values is sadly lacking, that literacy does not automatically bring liberty.

Dewey's characteristic belief that ends must be linked with means was evidenced in his social and political activities. If he denounced political evils, he proceeded to support reform movements. Advocating freedom of speech and the right to a fair hearing by persons accused of crimes, he supported the pleas of Sacco and Vanzetti, Leon Trotsky, and many others even though he did not agree with their point of view. He was prepared to "picket" if a cause was sufficiently important and picketing seemed the best way to "get action."

Because Dewey denied the validity of supernaturalism, he has been accused of being irreligious. The word religion has many meanings. Some of his friends have seen in John Dewey the reforming zeal of the Hebrew prophets. Certainly he had qualities which measured up to the standards of the New Testament. The language of the Bible is sometimes noted in his writing. During his long life John Dewey did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly in communion with what he regarded as most real and most important.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

APPARITION OF SPLENDOR

Partaking of the miraculous
since never known literally,
Dürer's rhinoceros
might have startled us equally
if black-and-white-spined elaborately.

Like another porcupine, or fern,
the mouth in an arching egret,
was too black to discern
till exposed as a silhouette;
but the double-embattled thistle of jet—

disadvantageous supposedly—
has never shot a quill. Was it
some joyous fantasy
plain eider-eared exhibit
of spines rooted in the sooty moss,

or "train supported by porcupines—
a fairy's eleven yards long?" . . .
as when the lightning shines
on thistlefine spears, among
prongs in lanes above lanes of a shorter prong—

"with the forest for nurse"—also dark
at the base—where needle-debris
springs to hide each footmark;
the setting for a symmetry
you must not touch unless you are a fairy.

Maine should be pleased that its animal
is not a waverer, but rather
than fight, lets the primed quill fall.
Shallow oppressor, intruder,
insister, you have found a resister.

MARIANNE MOORE

In My Father's House

MANY MANSIONS. By Isabel Bolton. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

IN A time when even the best novels are likely to concentrate on political wisdom or turn out to be sociological surveys disguised as fiction, "Many Mansions" is cheering evidence of how free from timely concerns the poor, battered, and misused novel may be. For a little over two hundred pages, Miss Bolton's heroine—she is eighty-four—sits in her hotel room on lower Madison Avenue merely brooding over a manuscript, the story of her life, the contents of which are never entirely revealed. Out of her brooding and her often rapturous marginal notations, which never decline into revery, Miss Bolton has constructed her novel. Much in it calls for comment, for there is a God's plenty of subjects. Especially, two matters. Miss Bolton is one of the few novelists today who have any proper historical sense, an awareness, to use T. S. Eliot's definition, of the pastness of the past and also of its presence. It pervades her book. And bent on discerning some meaning in the life of her Margaret Sylvester, she has written, in her quiet fashion, a philosophical novel.

To clarify: the book conveys beautifully what it must inevitably have felt like to be a particular child and young girl in Brookline, Massachusetts, in the seventies and eighties; and what Margaret Sylvester's life as an aging woman in pre-depression Greenwich Village must have been. These episodes, and many others, though they come into full life, are less important as fragments of a skilfully recaptured past which constitute the plot than as part of the design Miss Bolton has woven out of them in time. Shuttling back and forth in that element, but always for a purpose, and never indulging in mere flashbacks, she has made the past and the present separate and different yet coexistent and often, in essence, the same. The past is always present in this fiction.

Waking—it is the last day of her life—on February 1, 1950, Miss Sylvester, perusing the *Times* notes that the President has ordered the construction of the hydrogen bomb. The news only heightens her awareness of the catastrophe toward which the world is hastening. Yet Miss Bolton, avoiding the temptations of topical fiction, relates this distress to Margaret Sylvester's sensibility, to the contrast, so important to her, between public woe and private grief. Compelled by her conscience when she was young to take up arms against the world's intolerable wrong, she had engaged in useful humanitarian activity. It had also helped to deaden the personal anguish she bore about with her, sprung of an unhappy love affair and frustrated motherhood. Action, however, has not been enough. As an old woman, made frantic almost beyond bearing by events since 1938, she has been compelled to allay the sorrow she feels for her own past and the world's present by setting her life down in a novel: "Was it because she had wanted to call in her conscience—her soul, her memory, as you might call in a priest at the last moment to offer absolution . . .?"

To Miss Bolton this is only part of the answer. At least two other reasons make it inevitable that her heroine should write. "Cut off from all the central founts of love," she seeks to impose a final and personal form on her vision of life.

Although "Many Mansions" is about

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Margaret Sylvester's most secret experience—she reminds herself that, essentially, all novels are exercises in autobiography—it becomes an assertion of the importance of the artifact in a chaotic time. Seeking design and meaning in life, "Many Mansions" abounds in affirmations. In this sense it is philosophical, though no systems, of course, are propounded. But eighty-four outwardly meaningless years—how easy to have turned them into the reminiscences of a sweet old lady—become a microcosm of all our lives. Margaret Sylvester has found existence bearable and, ultimately, capable of being transformed into art, because she has a "capacity for reverence, wonder." Even as an old woman she is swept away by her knowledge that she is "a part of that great dance of life." These affirmations have been made elsewhere and on many occasions; most novelists, afraid of being trite, avoid them. Not Miss Bolton, with her passion to say what is on her mind. She has caught them up, these fragments of conventional wisdom, in the sensibility of one ancient woman and realized them so completely in terms of that woman's experience that they become the very center of the novel. Other large subjects are developed: the horrors of nineteenth-century, upper-middle-class family morality, the anguish of the world, and so on. The miracle in this writing is that, where another novelist would have made a pot-pourri of such a medley, Miss Bolton, wonderfully, makes it all part of her design. Her short book, her vision which affirms, is never blurred by an excess of matter.

ERNEST JONES

Book of Wisdom

RUMOR AND REFLECTION. By Bernard Berenson. Simon and Schuster. $6.

THIS is Berenson's war-time diary, kept during the German domination of Italy and in the year following the armistice. The locale is Florence—first Berenson's villa near Settignano, then his secret retreat in the Vallombrosa hills. But the scene is Europe, and the scope is human civilization. Events, as they filter through to Berenson, are faithfully recorded. Thereupon they stimulate thought and reminiscence. Berenson's mind being what it is, and his memory extending back almost to the Franco-Prussian War, this book of wisdom takes its place among the important memoirs of our day.

To review so discursive a work is not easy, and Berenson himself has compounded the difficulty. "I am in a way as irritated by praise," he writes, "even of the most tactful kind, especially when verbal and to my face. But even in print, in reviews of my books and still more when the praise is of myself, as distinct from my books."

I must risk his irritation by saying straight out that the word civilized should be reserved for an occasion like this. Certainly Berenson is one of the few really civilized living persons. It would be tempting to suggest that he is too civilized, were such a statement not a contradiction in terms. The terrible truth is that the times are not sympathetic to such cultivation. Berenson has the courage to challenge our shortcomings, but in so doing he retreats into the past. Here he is invulnerable, but also a little anachronistic.

As an example, consider his attack on the machine.

> It is a state of mind which for thousands of years has been aiming at an age like the present, during which the machine will go from triumph to triumph, and end by realizing its millennial endeavor to reduce the individual to a robot.

What is the conclusion: shall we try to master the machine, or pretend that we can destroy it?

The context of this statement (page 39) should not be overlooked. It carries Berenson along into an elaborate piece of irony. The Nazis, most efficiently totalitarian of all regimes, arrive on the scene "to free the rest of Europe, perhaps the rest of the world, from the machine!" They will deny its blessings to all but themselves, and the world will sink into Mediterranean ways of life: "agriculture, horticulture, to glass-blowing, to the cottage and other charming industries that educate and amuse mind and eye, and humanize the worker."

The irony rings, but is it not self-destructive?

A happier introduction to Berenson's mind occurs in the first entry, written on New Year's Day, 1941:

> No resolutions at my age, unless to be as little of a nuisance as possible to others first, and then to myself, for the rest of my days.

And again in this image of Mrs. Jack Gardner, whom he calls Boston's pre-cinema star:

> While Jack was alive, *he* did all the paying out not only abroad but at home. Isabella spent only on clothes, pearls, diamonds, and, later, on almost as expensive old masters. When her husband died, and bills of the baker and butcher and electrician were brought to her, she got into a panic from which she never quite recovered. She who in Europe had traveled like royalty, with compartments reserved for her in railways and luxurious suites in hotels, now went second-class, and frequenting the same hotels as before, would take the cheapest rooms and order the least expensive dishes. Remaining wealthy but having had no training in the workaday use of money, she lived like a Latin *rentière* in constant fear of losing it.

What a supplement to the portrait of Isabella Gardner by John Singer Sargent!

Here is a Tuscan dawn, as it impinged on Berenson's sensibility:

> The moon had a dimmed luster as of old gold and was bedded in its own rays, making a halo like a great wheel, and touched with faint rainbow color. Under it, the hillside rising to Poggio Gherardo looked grayish green, and the olive trees did not come out singly or in clusters but as rolls of felt folded back on the ground.

When you can see and feel with such precision as that, it is less difficult to tell a Simone Martini from a Master of the Palazzo Venezia Madonna.

Here is precision of another kind:

> Perhaps nothing separates and unites nations so much as their different rhetorics. Ours (Anglo-Saxon) remains Biblical still, but the Italians, French, Spaniards, and Rumanians are common sufferers from the same rhetoric. The common rhetoric goes so far as to make them believe that, although they have so little else in common, they are of the same "Latin" race, whereas they are merely victims of the same Latin rhetoric.

There is little about art in this book—and nothing about Duveen. But it does include a plea for a wide distribution of works of art which deserves the widest possible hearing:

> Every noble and even attractive work of art that goes to a foreign land acts as a missionary, inspiring sympathy for the people who produced it, and eagerness to visit their land.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

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"John Brown of the Half-Breeds"

STRANGE EMPIRE. By Joseph Kinsey Howard. William Morrow and Company. $6.

THIS unique book is an appropriate monument to its author's life, devoted to the North American high plains. Howard, who had secured an abiding fame with "Montana: High, Wide and Handsome," (1943), died at Choteau, August 25, 1951, aged forty-five, just as he finished this exciting account of two attempts to set up indigenous governments in the Far West. Its seeds were sown in his boyhood when he used to lend his "Mountie suit" to others so that he could lead the "enemy" minorities of half-breeds or Indians. Perfectly able to distinguish himself elsewhere, he gave his great energies and talents to the American West, fighting violently and stubbornly, as citizen and newspaperman, for social and economic justice, and against intrenched power and *vigilante* conformism in Montana. His symbolic hero gradually emerged in the person of the Canadian *métis,* Louis Riel, who twice rallied the peculiar society of the mid-continent to resist the inflowing tides from eastern North America and to demand recognition of the values and rights that it had created during past centuries.

Howard could hardly have chosen a more bedeviled person, in lifetime and after. Riel was peculiar and obsessed at times to the very borders of madness. His passionate distress over what he thought lethargy and obtuseness in his own Roman Catholic church made him set himself against and above it, in direct communion with God. In 1870, as dictator of his first provisional government at Winnipeg, he effected the "judicial murder" of an invading Eastern Anglo-Saxon who belonged to the professional Protestantism of the Loyal Orange Lodge. In 1885 he loosed half-breeds and Indian clans, bewildered by the disappearance of the buffalo and the coming of the railroad, against the whites. That year, although an American citizen, he was hanged for high treason to the British Crown.

And since French Canada, on the one hand, chose to ignore his religious heresies in order to make him a martyr to its nationalistic cause of *survivance,* and English-speaking Canada, on the other, chose to ignore his persistent attempts at compromise between West and East in order to make him a murderous obstacle to orderly expansion, even the primary records of his career, not to speak of endless secondary accounts, were perverted, partial, concealed, and sometimes destroyed. Americans, except for a few Dakotans and Montanans who took part in Riel's drama or observed it and handed down its myth and reality, almost let him and his cause fade from memory. None the less, Howard set himself the almost impossible tasks of digging up the sources here and there in Canada and the United States, sifting out the true from the false, and setting forth Riel's career in understandable form.

The measure of his success is the thrilling and always credible tragedy that he makes the reader see grow from the buffalo plains as the buffalo's exterminators swept in from Ontario and Minnesota after the American Civil War and Canadian federation. He starts slowly with a patient, informed stage setting of the environment and the adaptations to it of its peoples, but the pace quickens with the Canadian and American designs on the Red River Valley ("Heart of a Continent") that ripened so rapidly after 1860. Even before the buffalo had been wiped out, "John Brown of the Half-Breeds" had set up a provisional government as armor for his people against stupidly careless Canadian expansion, fumbling American conspiracy, and Fenian fishing in troubled waters. By the time that that armor had been pierced by superior force—with almost no bloodshed—and Riel and some associates had been bribed and driven into exile in the United States, the Canadian government had been forced to treat Manitoba seriously and admit it to Canada as a province instead of as a dependent territory.

The *métis* who could not stomach the Eastern invasion moved northwest toward the Saskatchewan Valley and their brothers, the Indians, only to be overtaken within fifteen years by two disasters that those true Westerners inevitably and properly coupled—the coming of the railway and the disappearance of the buffalo. The immemorial basis of their lives was destroyed. Their obvious enemies were laying out the plains in

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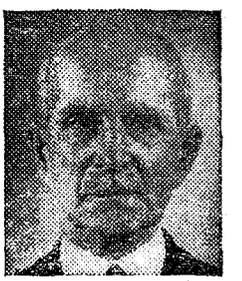
modern nationalities

BY FLORIAN ZNANIECKI



Florian Znaniecki, president-elect of the American Sociological Society, presents in laymen's terms a sociological study of how nationalities evolve. He shows that political plans which do not take into consideration the power of cultural bonds (witness the divided states of Korea, Germany, China) are bound to fail.

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farms. The beleaguered summoned Riel from Montana. This time the very finality of disaster bred not merely a provisional government for bargaining but outright rebellion, heresy, and war; and now the engine of earth conquest carried in the Canadian troops that stamped these out and the Canadian justice that hanged Riel in Regina at the hands of a man so revengeful that he taunted his victim on the scaffold and spurned his eighty dollars' pay.

Howard has clothed the tragedy of the Indians and mixed-bloods—English, French, and Scottish—lovingly, knowingly, and beautifully. As an outsider with no ax to grind, he felt himself entitled to write at length, awarding praise and blame—and understanding—to all the actors, on the ground and in Ottawa, London, and Washington. In his book an artist's imagination is at work, not in the invention of facts, but in the interpretation of them. Occasionally he is carried by his own identification with his half-breed and Indian actors into expression that some might find extreme, but it does not blemish his utter honesty. The one serious criticism of his interpretation has already been made by Bernard DeVoto in his admirable introductory tribute to Howard as "a brilliant historian" of the West and the most brilliant interpreter of it in his own time. Howard's suggestion that Riel may have saved the Canadian West from incorporation in the United States simply will not stand up in the face of what we know about the differentiation between American and Canadian enterprise in the Far West, Canadians' sense of mission there, British backing, and the great Anglo-American-Canadian settlement that was incorporated in the Treaty of Washington of 1871. Fortunately the suggestion is sufficiently neutral not to mar the artistry of the work.

No review of the book would be adequate without acknowledgment to those who ushered it into print. Mrs. Helen King of Morrow and Company provided not only the necessary publisher's faith but an immense amount of research, checking, and consultation with scholars and with Howard's friends. Rosalea and Norman Fox sorted out Howard's notes so as to compile an unprecedentedly complete bibliography which serves in the place of footnotes. Bernard DeVoto edited Howard's revised manuscript very slightly in the light of his own great knowledge and of Mrs. King's suggestions, and specified the maps from Howard's noted intentions. He had spent three weeks of Howard's last month with him in Montana. All these, and some unnamed persons, deserve our gratitude.

J. B. BREBNER

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The Lives of Eisenstein

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN. By Marie Seton. A. A. Wyn. $8.50.

MISS SETON'S book is an attempt to reconstruct at least three of the lives of Eisenstein—personal, public, and artistic. She interrelates the three in such a way that the public figure becomes a shield behind which Eisenstein hides and the artist becomes a conscious creation which protects him from certain aspects of his own personality. The construction is not quite so neat as this sentence suggests, but these three figures do thread their way through the book and the author does continually reiterate their relationship to one another.

There will be some questioning of the validity of Miss Seton's portrait of Eisenstein, particularly by those who have known or who have worked with him. Given the complexity of such a man, however, it is quite possible that another associate might present a portrait of Eisenstein quite different from Miss Seton's—and yet that neither would be false. This reviewer, having no personal portrait of the director to go by, is less intent on passing judgment on Miss Seton's creation than on discovering out of what it grew.

Miss Seton first met Eisenstein in 1932 when she visited Moscow as a correspondent for *Theatre Arts Weekly.* Her status in his life grew from that of messenger—from a mutual friend—to friend in her own right and finally to lover, although apparently never in a sexual sense. The author describes the beginning of the love affair, a holiday together in Yalta, in as nearly idyllic a passage as her ponderous style will allow. This close relationship lasted from August, 1934, until January, 1935, when Miss Seton left for England with plans for a reunion that were never to be realized; and during this period Eisenstein apparently talked freely to her not only of his work but of his childhood, his early years in film work, his sexual misgivings, his distrust of others. Much of the early part of the book has been drawn from these conversations; all of it is marked by the obvious respect and affection that the author felt for her subject.

Miss Seton represents the essential Eisenstein as a lonely and unhappy man who deeply desired human affection but was afraid to ask for it, and she finds the sources of this portrait in his childhood, in the ambivalence of his feeling for his mother and in his early self-identification with a grotesque circus clown. But the material was provided by Eisenstein, who had studied Freud carefully, and while it is important to have Eisenstein's picture of his childhood, the patness of the development from the deserted child to the lonely man suggests that Eisenstein edited his memories as stringently as he did his films.

His clownishness, his biting wit, his silences, his brusqueness become, for Miss Seton, public and social masks assumed to protect the man beneath. For her, then, all his behavior becomes forgivable if occasionally unwise. She

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suggests also that just as he felt that he must protect himself from others, so he had to protect himself from himself. Because of his apparent inability to have a normal relationship with any of the women in his life, Eisenstein began to fear the possibility of homosexuality, and Miss Seton explains the intensity of his preoccupation with his art and the feverishness of his intellectual activity as a conscious attempt at sublimation. But again, thanks to the peculiar nature of the relationship between the director and his biographer, this interpretation of Eisenstein's life and work is largely his own.

I do not mean to suggest that the book is no more than casual personal reminiscence. It is, in fact, an impressive collection of material relating to Eisenstein. Miss Seton has made use of as many of the existing documents and letters by and about him as she could get. She has communicated with many of the people who knew or worked with him at various stages in his career. She has used the films that he made and the articles that he wrote. But there must be a great amount of material in Russia—letters, notes, and so on—to which she did not have access, and the book is not, therefore, the definitive biography that its jacket heralds it to be.

Miss Seton attempts, too, to deal with Eisenstein as a film theorist and as a director. She is less successful here. She was so impressed by the activity of the man's mind, of the potential implicit in his multiple researches, that she loads the book with accounts of the odd paths down which Eisenstein strayed looking for knowledge. She mixes her discussion of his theories and of their relationship to his films with her attempts to separate the strands of his personality in such a way that the psychology confuses without enriching the presentation of his work. There are moments of clarification—witness an early brief discussion of typage and montage—but a clear and intelligent treatment of the development of Eisenstein from "Strike" to "Ivan the Terrible" is still needed.

Strangely enough, this volume is almost completely free of political implications. There were, of course, periods in which Eisenstein was in disfavor with the leaders of the film industry, particularly with Boris Shumyatsky, but Miss Seton suggests that these people disliked Eisenstein as much for personal as for aesthetic or political reasons. The problem of film aesthetics, which is in Russia a matter of political importance, is treated at length only once in the book, in the chapter dealing with the All-Union Creative Conference of Workers in Soviet Cinematology, in January, 1935, at which Eisenstein was attacked for too much theorizing and research and not enough production. In this section Miss Seton steps back and lets Eisenstein and his attackers speak for themselves. It is by far the most fascinating part of the book. There are a few assertions of Eisenstein's continued loyalty to the Soviet state, even when he is not in favor, but Miss Seton never directly comments either favorably or unfavorably on his position.

GERALD WEALES

Liberal Statesman

PRISONER OF GRACE. By Joyce Cary. Harper and Brothers. $3.

ANY new novel by the Anglo-Irish writer Joyce Cary is a promise of something vivid and off the beat but true to human nature. "Prisoner of Grace" has these qualities: yet it is something of a disappointment too. What it lacks is not vision but judgment and proportion.

The vision of the novel is in its insight into a marriage which having begun wrong—in advantage for each, but no love—ends thirty years later in a kind of mutual damnation. The scene is one that Cary has painted before, the England of the early twentieth century, between the Boer War and the first World War. The hero of the novel is Chester Nimmo, a hypothetical Liberal statesman, who rises in the story to a position in Lloyd George's War Cabinet. The novel's heroine, and eye, is the statesman's wife, Nina.

Here again is the setting Cary has used so well before; again he catches the excitement of a stimulating time when people thought that however much they might change things through reform the true ground under their feet would never shift; and again his story ends with the disillusionment of his characters at the cracking of their security in the war and its aftermath.

The period is the same as that of Cary's great trilogy: the time of Sara Munday and Mr. Wilcher and Gulley Jimson of "Herself Surprised," "To Be a Pilgrim," and "The Horse's Mouth." But neither Chester Nimmo, Nina, nor her cousin Jim Latter, in the new story, has the heroism or even the fanaticism necessary to carry the theme of the novel or to sustain the interest which the theme awakens. Chester and Nina and Jim seem too one-sided, or too weak, to do their proper jobs as characters of fiction. They achieve pathos and horror, but no more than that. And "Prisoner of Grace" is a novel with many wonderful things in it rather than the wonderful novel it might have been. On nearly every page there is evidence of Cary's ability to see with the painter's eye and to discern with the psychologist's eye. But it is as if his abilities had run away with him, as if, getting more and more subtle and clever, he had piled one good bit on top of another, or added one

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ALVIN JOHNSON

Frontier farmer, scholar and journalist, soldier, reformer, founder of the New School and the University in Exile.

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*—DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

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more twist or turn than necessary, and in the end lost the single, simple effect he might have had.

The prolonged struggle of Chester and Nina for survival as individuals —the demagogic mind versus the critical mind—has, at last, a lower-keyed effect than it might have had. Chester never changes or develops sufficiently. He is too perfectly the fishy politician to begin with, and Nina is too much of a drifter to support the position of critical intelligence in the scheme.

The earlier novels were a sort of celebration of individualism in different forms: the indivisibility of the decent human person in Sara Munday, the cook of "Herself Surprised," the individualism of religion and reform in Mr. Wilcher of "To Be a Pilgrim," the battered and unbeatable artistic genius in Gulley Jimson of "The Horse's Mouth." The same theme is present in "Prisoner of Grace," but it is muffled and blurred.

What is memorable, however, is the vision of the public man whose public self corrodes and displaces his private self and whose management of his wife is like a political maneuver; and of the pathos of their mutual torture. Cary, whose novels, quite misleadingly, have been advertised with a hint of sensationalism, is, at bottom, a formidable moralist.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON

The Hero and the Man

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume V: Victory with the Help of France. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.

VOLUME V of the most magisterial of Washington biographies advances the narrative to the formal conclusion of the war and to the Commander-in-Chief's return, on Christmas Eve of 1783, to his home by the Potomac—"a patriot of conscious integrity and unassailable conduct who had given himself completely to the revolutionary cause and desired for himself the satisfaction of having won the approval of those whose esteem he put above every other reward." It is replete with incident and episode: Monmouth Court House, Stony Point, and Powles Hook, the unspeakably dreadful winter of 1779-80 at Morristown (even worse than the preceding one at Valley Forge), Arnold's treason, and the mutinies of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops lead up to the brilliantly executed concentration of land and sea forces at Yorktown by which the decisive victory was attained, although a long, dreary, dangerous period of inactivity ensued before peace was declared. Underlying all these events is the great theme of how Americans and French learned to collaborate as allies and even as friends.

For the eventual success and harmony of that collaboration, which was not achieved overnight, Freeman gives equal credit to Washington and to the French, especially to the noble, wise, disinterested Rochambeau, a man "careful in his words and appreciative in his judgments." His estimate of the French officers as a class, dropped inconspicuously into an appendix, is significant:

> Staff officers' and generals' day-by-day accounts are distinguished for nothing so much as the good manners they display. There is no ridicule of the ragged Continentals, no sarcasm over the inferiority of equipment and discipline, no condescension when the entries deal with tactics and siegecraft. American students . . . will be impressed by the fact that nearly all the French officers King Louis XVI sent to America were gentlemen. If they quarreled, it was among themselves. One is bound to have respect for them and for their army.

This passage, like many another, evinces Freeman's conviction that history has its educational uses. That is not so fashionable a doctrine as it used to be, but it may have something to do with my observation that Freeman's works, despite their heavy demands on one's time and attention, make a remarkably strong appeal to young men.

The foregoing remarks are by no means adequate to the rich content of this volume, but space must be found for some notice of Freeman's conception of his task as a biographer. "George Washington" will amply repay analysis by anyone interested in biographical method. For one thing, in order to keep his subject within manageable bounds, Freeman has had to differentiate rather closely between history and biography. He includes within the sphere of biography not only the development of his subject's character but also his public acts. The acts occupy most of the available space, but they are consistently presented from Washington's own angle of experience and only in their immediate context of circumstance. At any given moment the story consists only of what Washington knew and was directly concerned with. It is a delight to observe the skill with which this principle is applied throughout the biography. Much of the formal distinction of the work, which is far superior to the

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usual biographical-historical gallimaufry, results from it.

Mr. Freeman has also tried to distinguish between objective fact and his own interpretation of character and to keep them, as it were, pure and unmixed. In consequence, long sequences of factual narrative, in which Washington is usually present though incompletely realized, lead up to a set "character" of him at some crucial stage of his history—his resignation from the British army, his assumption of the American command, his return to civil life in 1783. In Mr. Freeman's hands the device is not inartistic, but its effect is to hold Washington at a certain distance from the reader. Mr. Freeman does not believe that a closer approach is possible. "In this research, a decade of daily study of Washington has not uncovered an instance in which it has been possible to say what he was thinking at a given moment, unless he happened himself to record the thought." Other heroes abide our question; Washington, after all that is knowable about him has been collected and scrutinized, remains free.

GEORGE GENZMER

Touchstones and Techniques

THE NATURE OF MUSIC. By Hermann Scherchen. Translated by William Mann. Henry Regnery Company. $3.75.

THE THEMATIC PROCESS IN MUSIC. By Rudolph Reti. The Macmillan Company. $5.

STRUCTURAL HEARING. By Felix Salzer. Charles Boni. $12.50.

THE impact of music is so vivid that the temptation to analyze it with precision is only natural. It is also dangerous; the essentially subjective appeal of music rarely withstands the pressure of an objective or categorical approach. Scherchen tries to give precise psychological meanings to various elements and procedures in music, and builds much of his work on a thesis elaborated in Reti's book, that of thematic transformation. This procedure—of deriving many themes from one basic theme or motif—is well known since Berlioz, and has been consciously used by many moderns, notably of the Schoenberg school. Both Scherchen and Reti, however, seeking the key to the musical universe, come up with the statement that in *all* Western music all the thematic material in any one composition is derived from a single idea. This, they say, is the basic factor which creates unity in a given piece, and distinguishes it from all others.

It turns out that both authors are dealing not with themes as such but only with their pitch relationships, isolated from meter, rhythm, tempo, harmony, and phraseology. This at once arouses some skepticism; it is hard to believe that composers would place such great store by an isolated element. And Scherchen and Reti are far from convincing; only a slight extension of their method would lead to the conclusion that all thematic material *whatsoever* is related, derived as it is from the seven tones of the scale! And even more unfortunate is the violence done to the musical meaning of passages by the way they are broken down for analysis without the slightest regard for phrase.

Even were the argument more convincing, the question would remain whether thematic relation is the major unifying element in a piece of music. In principle I would say no—no single element is; but there is also the fact that definite thematic relationships often exist between entirely different compositions. Would anyone suggest that this creates unity between them?

Reti is at his best when dealing with such well-known types of relationship as composers produce when consciously elaborating a germinal idea. He also manages to show some less easily recognized relationships, but these, while very interesting, are relatively so few that it is absurd to make any generalization from them. And the inclusion of literary ideas in an analysis of Beethoven's Fifth, complete with the "Fate" motif and a "Hook" motif of Reti's own invention, is music appreciation nonsense.

Scherchen covers a wide range of topics, and makes use of the terminology of metaphysics. I found his pontifical, ecstatic remarks tedious and misleading, and was forced to give up when solemnly assured that the inversion of a theme produces the exact effect of standing on one's head.

Salzer presents a detailed course of study based on and expounding the theories of Heinrich Schenker, the noted Viennese theoretician. It is wisely limited to the kind of music upon which

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Schenker's studies are based, and does not imply that all other harmony is invalid. Nor does it claim to explain how music is created or to have the key to its mysteries. It simply presents a technique of structural analysis which might deepen the musical understanding of both composer and performer. And this, I think, is about all a theoretician can do. Since Schenker's methods have gained a foothold in many American schools, this book, authenticated by the approval of several Schenker disciples, deserves careful consideration by music students and educators.

Traditional harmonic theory has contented itself with labeling chords and classifying them according to their immediate affinities. Salzer's method goes a step farther and shows the relationship of individual chords to the entire piece. Some have structural significance, others are prolongations of the structural ones; some chords have harmonic import, others are merely the results of melodic movement—contrapuntal chords. This makes sense, though exception might be taken to the sharpness of demarcation; in an organic thing like an art form, functions are not so neatly divided. More surprising is Salzer's whole-hearted acceptance of traditional harmonic theory, when the very nature of his method indicates the need for its revision and broadening. He blithely discards its limitations when dealing with Hindemith, while retaining them intact to prove a point about Bach. His is a conventional and limited view of tonality, which he defines as a concept but treats throughout as a fact.

A danger lies in any attempt to use the Schenker theory as a basis for criticism. Students should be warned that theory can tell what happens but not whether what happens is good or bad. There are no yardsticks for evaluating music.

HAROLD BROWN

Canada—A Nation

CANADA: THE GOLDEN HINGE. By Leslie Roberts. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

THERE are still Americans who ask their Canadian friends: How much do you pay the Queen in taxes? or, Why don't you throw off the British yoke and join us? Some Britons, equally behind the times, still refer to Canadians as "colonials."

Leslie Roberts, a Canadian newspaperman, seeks to combat such ignorance by explaining how Canada became an independent nation and why it is rapidly assuming the status of a first-class power. His book is full of useful information and, written though it is in conscientiously breezy journalese, can be recommended to anyone planning to visit Canada as tourist or on business.

The title is derived from a rhetorical flight by Field Marshal Montgomery, who once described Canada as "a hinge between the Old World and the New; a hinge of purest gold." While adopting this metaphor Mr. Roberts is at pains to make it clear that this particular hinge is *not* to be considered an integral part of either of the two nations it links together. As he puts it:

> Canada is fastened on one side, economically and by a considerable likemindedness in many things, to the United States. On the other it is attached, by tradition and the ethnic roots of many of its people, to Britain, and by partnership to the Commonwealth. The hinge is not likely to come unscrewed on either side. But it could. It is still, in short, a separate entity.

With regard to the precious nature of the hinge, the author has no doubts. A good deal of his space is devoted to a descriptive inventory of the natural resources of his native land, and enthusiastic as he is, he can hardly be accused of exaggeration. Canada has vast forests which if harvested on a sustained-yield basis—a practice recently adopted by British Columbia—will last indefinitely. It has huge reserves of water power, while the rocky wastes of the Cambrian Shield and the tumbled mountains of British Columbia are proving the world's greatest storehouse of minerals—iron, copper, nickel, lead, zinc, petroleum, and, of course, uranium.

In the United States consumption of raw materials is outrunning native supply, compelling ever larger imports. That makes Canada a natural economic partner, but, Mr. Roberts insists, it must be partnership on equal terms. Hitherto, he feels, this country has too often given little consideration to Canadian views and needs, as, for example, in the case of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The point is well taken. However, Canadians have to realize that if the United States needs their materials, they need the American market. Their present investment boom is closely geared to the high level of industrial production in this country, which means that they would be hit hard and quickly by any serious setback.

To make the most of its natural resources, Canada needs more of another essential economic component—people. Although the population has risen 25 per cent since 1939, there are still only fourteen million people in a land

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greater in area than the United States including Alaska. Until this number grows sufficiently to provide a solid home market for industry, so that a larger proportion of the country's raw materials are consumed at home, Canada, for all its political independence, is likely to remain an economic colony.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Great Adventure

THE TARTAR STEPPE. By Dino Buzzati. Translated by Stuart C. Hood. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

THE men of the garrison of Fort Bastiani spend their lives guarding an unchallenged frontier. No one among them truly believes that any danger lurks on the mysterious, mist-covered Tartar Steppe which rolls below and beyond the fort; yet officers and men wait in daily expectation of some ultimate encounter which in one heroic moment will give meaning to an entire lifetime.

Meanwhile the days, months, and years slip away. Sustained by habit and routine, the men do not notice; for them the slack apathy of the present is bridged to their dimly remote and heroic future by an impeccable masquerade of military protocol. Monument to their oblivion is the fort itself, vast and mysterious in its crystalline blue void, where the sound of falling water can be mistaken for the human voice. Although prisoners of their vision, the soldiers are free of the common ties and tensions by which ordinary men are reminded of their mortality. The life of the city, vaguely remembered, holds no appeal; from their occasional sorties to a mountain village for a banquet and a bit of lovemaking they ask no more than a kind of bleak self-relief. "Miracle" is the password of the night watch; the sentry's reply is "Misery."

It is only in death that these men approach the shadow of their heroic vision. The aristocratic Angiolini achieves it by a gesture in which a fatal act of violent physical effort conceals a supreme inner indifference. Private Lazzari finds it when he reaches out spontaneously toward one living thing—a stray horse, as it happens—and so is stranded outside the fort without the day's password. He is shot down by the guard, perhaps as a double punishment.

Lieutenant Drogo has sensed the meaning of his surrender to apathy but can make no more than a feeble motion to break free. He comes to the fort as a young lieutenant, leaves as an elderly major, so debilitated by his long wait for the great adventure that when at last the enemy does come, he is no longer fit and is invalided back to the city. En route he realizes that to find new forms for the void of his existence is beyond him. Yet, mysteriously, some strength, some force returns, so that he can prepare himself without bitterness to wait alone in a strange inn for death to come in the night.

Mr. Buzzati's short novel—his second to appear here, and in an excellent translation—calls up inevitable associations: Proust, Kafka (especially "The Castle"), even "The Magic Mountain." However, this slighter book has its particular quality. Here the human dilemma is humanely conceived. Men are born into a world of immensities they may not even recognize but to which they are constantly responding with unformulated fear, hope, bafflement, much as in sleep one may sense the cold and fumble for a cover. Yet there is for each man one moment when he confronts directly his particular facet of that immensity and so redeems an otherwise paltry existence. For that one moment serves to illumine his humanity and, in Mr. Buzzati's world, mercifully to establish him in a state of earthly grace.

ADRIENNE FOULKE

Verse Chronicle

RIDGELY TORRENCE was poetry editor of the *New Republic* from 1920 to 1933. In 1941 the literary editor of that magazine asked me to review Torrence's recently published collection of poems. Remembering how helpful he had been to me during his incumbency, and knowing that others felt as I did about his courtesy, I thought the least I could do, when the review was written, was to send Mr. Torrence an advance copy. He wrote, or phoned, me, evidently in some distress, and asked me to come to see him; I found, on doing so, that he thought I had praised him much too highly, and he wished I would tone the review down.

Well, that was characteristic of him, and the republication of those poems,

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with some new ones added (Macmillan, $2), brings back the recollection, which, now that it cannot embarrass him, I should like to spread on the record. As for the poems, one can say it again: given the art, and the spirit, a poet needs only a few very simple symbols (which he may employ more than once) and a quite natural easy vocabulary to achieve pure lyric quality. The brutal, the coarse, may be less easily hurt than the gentle and good, but they have not this resilience, this ability to transcend. The light survives the scythe and the reaping.

For a while, in "The First Morning," by Peter Viereck (Scribner's, $3), one can respond with a good deal of pleasure to a new sense of composure that seems to be pervading the work of the author. The Stanzas in Love with Life and August have in them an August mellowness, for all the tricksy typographical performance attending the refrain; the title poem shines, and To Be Sung could be. But pretty soon, about halfway through the section of pastorals, the reader begins to feel so prodded, so jabbed, so goosed, so chivvied, so nagged, so hot-boxed and high-pressured, into excitement, that he begins to long for some nice good old dull Lake poet, for a Crabbe or a Barnes. Mr. Viereck, I suppose, means to expend satire rather on Eliot cults than on Eliot, but he might, even in "The Waste Land," have found a lesson: *Give, sympathize, control.* Which is anyway better than reaching, antagonizing, flying all over the place. (I warn those who will be prompted to write indignant letters to the editors that my only retort will be, they are entitled to their opinion.)

Water is a favorite subject and symbol of Kathleen Raine, author of "The Pythoness and Other Poems" (Farrar, Straus and Young, $2.50). Her work has the virtue of water, in rill-form or pool-form; no tidal waves, no great surges. The vice of water, too, at times; if not brackishness, insipidity. And now and again, it seems, the water is the tear in the eye that contemplates the self, a swimming of the vision which other times sees straight enough. There is a sensibility here, a delicacy, that falls just short of charm and grace. Let it be said, not necessarily of Miss Raine, that there is, after all, a certain pretentiousness in being "one of those rare artists who never attempt more than it is in their power to achieve." Come on, let's be human and commit a few big sprawling errors once in a while.

Yehoash was the pen name of Solomon Bloomgarden, born in Lithuania in 1870, resident in the United States from 1890 till his death in 1927. The major work of his life was the translation of the Hebrew testament into Yiddish. He also wrote original poems in that language, and these appear in a translation made by Dr. Isidore Goldstick, published in Canada by the Canadian Yehoash Committee (price $3). Dr. Goldstick's English makes the poems sound more literary than they probably did in the original, though the subjects are often literary enough. But some good drollery comes through, notably in the Fable about Fables, and The Abolition of Ritual Slaughter. The book also contains a biographical sketch by the poet's daughter, Evlin Yehoash Dworkin.

I have been asked by the editors of the *Northern Review,* published in Montreal, to call the attention of readers to another Canadian item, their issues combining Nos. 4 and 5, devoted almost entirely to the poetry of E. J. Pratt. The price is one Canadian dollar, a little more in American money. It would be most unneighborly of me to add that, in my opinion, Mr. Pratt is more grandiose than cosmic and that Canada has at least two poets much more worth making a fuss over. I mean A. M. Klein and A. J. M. Smith. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Books in Brief

THE THREAD OF LAUGHTER. By Louis Kronenberger. Knopf. $4.50. The drama critic of *Time* here offers "chapters on English stage comedy from Jonson to Maugham." A thoughtful and humane preliminary discourse on the nature of comedy is followed by analyses of several score important plays from a point of view which profitably combines that of the scholar with that of the practicing reviewer. Mr. Kronenberger's judgments are sometimes unconventional and sometimes not, but they are always persuasively stated and often wittily phrased. Though no attempt is made at complete or systematic history, the "thread" is strong enough to establish the essential unity of the comic method and to make it clear that Congreve and Shaw have actually more in common than perhaps Shaw would be willing to admit. The malicious, the satiric, and the directly didactic elements are differently proportioned by different writers, but all the elements are usually

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present. A sound and entertaining book based upon lectures originally given at Brandeis University and the Graduate School at Columbia.

THE RESTORATION COMEDY OF WIT. By Thomas H. Fujimura. Princeton. $4. Everybody knows that when the word "wit" is used in connection with seventeenth-century poetry its meaning is different from that most current today. The difference is less great between this current meaning and what was meant at the end of the century, when the Restoration comedy was called "witty." But for that very reason the difference is more often overlooked. This wide-ranging study traces many of the various meanings and illustrates as well as analyzes both just what the Restoration writer did mean by the word and just why what he most admired sometimes seems to us less effective than it did to him. A technical study of a very specialized subject, the book should nevertheless be useful to anyone interested in the precise definition of a term which has meant so many different things.

VICTORIAN SAMPLERS: WILLIAM AND MARY HOWITT. By Carl Ray Woodring. University of Kansas Press. $4. The lives of William and Mary Howitt were intimately bound up with the major issues which agitated nineteenth-century British philanthropists. They wrote, tirelessly, for the annuals and the quarterlies, making money out of them and out of pamphlets, tracts, books about nature, and pseudo-Wordsworthian poetry. Mary Howitt translated some of the tales of Hans Christian Andersen. William Howitt was one of the early champions of Whitman. Of their vast spate of prose and poetry all that is remembered today is Mary's poem "The Spider and the Fly." Born upper-middle-class Quakers, their spiritual curiosity led them away from strict adherence to the discipline of the Friends into flirtations with spiritualism and with Rome. Mary Howitt became a Roman Catholic in her old age. They knew almost everyone of any literary, scientific, or philanthropic importance in Victorian England, and also in Scandinavia, the United States, and Italy. This study fits them into their respectable niches in the history of nineteenth-century culture. Unhappily it suffers from a defect common to American undertakings of this kind: it is almost unreadable. The facts have been digested —although one would like more awareness on Dr. Woodring's part of what must have been an intense spiritual travail—but they are crowded one upon another with little sense of proportion. It is disappointing that so intelligently assembled a book should turn out to be a work of reference when it might have been an important and delightful biography.

PLAGIARISM AND ORIGINALITY. By Alexander Lindey. Harper. $5. This exhaustive study of plagiarism and copyright infringement will be useful to the author, artist, composer, editor, and publisher. It will also interest the general public as a sprightly compendium of literary thefts and borrowings, and of the fascinating court cases that have resulted.

CONTRIBUTORS

MARIANNE MOORE published her "Collected Poems" last year.

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KEITH HUTCHISON is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism."

ADRIENNE FOULKE has done translations of French and Italian books, among them Elsa Morante's "House of Liars," published last year.

Films

MANNY FARBER

LIMELIGHT" gives us something different in Chaplin, who barehanded has produced, written, directed, starred in, and scored the entire picture. The film deals quite dourly with the joys and sorrows that go into seeking theatrical success and is an ideal subject for the world's first funny man, whose naivete is such that he must always have the center of the stage—whether as Chaplin the private citizen or Chaplin the great panto. It is not coincidental that the movie is a portrait of a famous tramp-clown at the end of his career, and that the waif whom he rescues from suicide and paralysis bears a striking physical resemblance to Oona O'Chaplin. What is new and good about the film is Chaplin's acting: he has given up the travesty of characterization and is doing a wonderful parlor game of charades—pantomiming, among other things, drunken walking, a tiny man trying to carry an unconscious girl up a

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narrow flight of stairs, left-handed violin playing, the flight of two trained fleas, a rock, a Chinese tree, and crazy-ballet dancing. For once, Chaplin's powerful personal traits don't conflict with his screen role, since at best he is playing a sort of neutralized version of himself.

The movie opens on a bit of Sennett-type business with the kind of mat lighting found on dignified English Christmas cards: A tipsy has-been clown named Calvero teeters down a London street and has trouble hitting the keyhole with his apartment-house key (the drunk act continues through the first three reels though he never takes a drink). Once inside the coldly lit flat, the "age makes way for youth" tale becomes laughless as Chaplin attempts to inspire the beautiful, chalky, hysterical paralytic (Claire Bloom) to go on living. This portion of the film suffers most from overwriting, dividing it from subsequent action, and manages only to keep pace with current politicians in its use of unrelieved exhortation and big, empty words. Lines like "I must have truth, Truth, TRUTH—and, if possible, a little dignity" come out as though they had brackets around them, giving the mechanical, bridging effect of old silent film titles. All sentimental stops are pulled out; but the whole is toughened by a succession of vaudeville skits which turn up whenever the clown snoozes. In these you see Chaplin playing a new, devilish tramp with nasoid singing voice and a frisky, aggressive dancing style.

The second half of "Limelight" moves into a London theater where the best ballet dancing recorded on celluloid (Melissa Hayden) alternates with some primitively grouped shimmy acts that go straight back to the veiled dancing in "Intolerance." Meanwhile the story hits climax after climax as the clown sinks into oblivion and the girl rises to the heights of Markova and Danilova.

Throughout, Chaplin's comedy-drama doesn't produce one belly laugh, but hardly a gesture in it lacks grace, point, or perfection. A master at getting the effect he wants into the camera's eye, he can conquer you with anything from a throttled, straining sound in his throat to a silly smile. While I've never been convinced of the humanity in the pathetic tramp, the krauty dictator, or the dapper murderer Chaplin enacted in earlier films, here pleasure and warmth spread a likable emotion over his pantomime, so that you accept things as hackneyed as the flower-eating, or as dim-witted as the burlesque gags. Even with the over-wise-human flavor, there is a mixture of glee, pomp, absurdity, and power adding a knife edge. Chaplin has a greedy, mean way of cracking a whip that seems the end in foolish cruelty; he can gasp and slip under the burden of lifting a girl so as to rib the entire business of doing a kind deed; and he charms you out of your seat with anatomical details: a wide, loose grin or the Mephistophelean eyebrows of his tramp mask.

For the sophisticates who want to find fault with the film, many errors lie in the vaguely primitive technique. You can start with the cutting (much too little in the first half) and end with the background music (a tenderizing of Tchaikowsky, Gershwin, and Jolson), finding the same naive technique operating in most of the departments. The process-screened backgrounds are stiff; the camera man takes no short cuts. But the chances are that you will be more delighted by "Limelight" than by any of the other Chaplin films. In the interim between his earliest two-reelers and the present movie the artist has traveled a complete circle, finally arriving back at his first and best medium, vaudeville.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE authors of "In Any Language" (Cort Theater) had a bright idea to begin with. A Hollywood star, Hannah King, who has so far wasted herself, or so she believes, on fabulously successful, expensive, and trashy American films, goes to Rome to lay her talents at the feet of a great Italian director for whom film-making is an art and not a business. She gets the job—as the prostitute in a film with some such title as "The Little Chestnut Vendor"—but in the end her illusions about Italian film-making and about herself as another Magnani have faded and she heads back for Hollywood. The situation has amusing possibilities and they are duly explored; but few are realized and then only by desperate and distracting effort on the part of everyone concerned. The play gets some fun out of the idea that a film is art only if it is made on a shoestring with non-actors; it ribs the current automatic awe for foreign films, good, bad, or indifferent, and the equally automatic condescension to Hollywood; and, cutting the other way, it points up the pretensions and naivete of the Hollywood star and makes sport of Hollywood methods. Many of the lines are good, but many are bad and some are vulgar besides. The play as a whole never gets off the ground. It begins to move only in the second scene of the second act and dies on its feet in the middle of the third.

Uta Hagen, as Hannah King, tries valiantly to inject life and reality into the part, but the characterization as written is so haphazard and diffuse and vague that it defeats all her efforts. And then too I think comedy is not her forte. She is accomplished but limited, and she is best in serious and straightforward

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parts. But I suppose that just as comedians always want to play Hamlet, "straight" actors always want to prove that they can be comedians too.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AS WITH the Glyndebourne Festival "Così Fan Tutte" a year ago, so with the Glyndebourne Festival "Idomeneo" this year: the HMV LP record gives us not the entire work but only a few wonderful excerpts, omitting others (e. g., Electra's last aria), and gives them to us torn out of context like the "bleeding chunks" torn out of Wagner, and with historical information and a confusing summary instead of the words that would enable the listener to know what the excerpts are about (why HMV should provide all the words of "Dido and Aeneas" and none of "Idomeneo" is something the ordinary non-record-company mind is incapable of figuring out). This is the more regrettable since the performance—by virtue of the beauty and style of the singing by Sena Jurinac, Dorothy MacNeil, Richard Lewis, and Alexander Young, the work of the chorus and orchestra, and the conducting of Fritz Busch—achieves an impressive stature, power, and authority that are lacking in the Haydn Society's recording of the entire work. The recorded sound is excellent.

Outstanding among opera recordings of the year is London's complete "Pelléas et Mélisande." The Golaud and Arkel, Heinz Rehfuss and André Vessières, lack the power and weight of voice they should have; but Pierre Mollet is a superb Pelléas and Suzanne Danco has a more beautiful voice than Irène Joachim of the RCA Victor version. Above all the recorded sound has not only the present-day London voluminous spaciousness and distinctness that the ten-year-old Victor version lacks, but a balance which allows the wonderful orchestral part—excellently performed by Ansermet with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande—to be heard clearly with the voices that blanket it in the Victor version. I must add, however, that the violins are reproduced with agreeable fullness of sonority, but not with the clear, warm radiance that one hears, for example, in the Victor recording of Toscanini's performance of the Brahms Fourth. The complete French text and English translation are provided.

Gluck's "Alceste" has been issued by Oceanic, with the title role sung impressively by Ethel Semser except when the music climbs to the high range in which her voice is unpleasantly tremulous and shrill. The Admète is an Italian, Enzo Seri, who sings beautifully but distorts some of the French vowels; the rest of the cast (with the exception of the soprano soloist in Act 2) and the Paris Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus are very good; and René Leibowitz's direction is excellent. So is the recorded sound, except for a hash around *Divinités du Styx* at the end of a side.

Mahler's Fourth Symphony, a charming and lovely work in which the operation of Mahler's mind is unfailingly interesting despite its long-windedness, is on a London record performed by Van Beinum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra and Margaret Ritchie, soprano. The brisk performances of the first two movements are less effective than Bruno Walter's relaxed treatment of them on the Columbia record; in addition the recorded sound of the Concertgebouw violins is excessively veiled and, if one turns up the treble, edged; and these defects are not, for me, outweighed by Miss Ritchie's lovelier singing in the last movement.

London also offers a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in which Kleiber conducts the Vienna Philharmonic, the Singverein of the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and a solo quartet comprising Hilde Gueden, Sieglinde Wagner, Anton Dermota, and Ludwig Weber. I prefer not to wait for the arrival of the Victor recording of Toscanini's performance, and to report the impressions made on me by the Kleiber performance heard and considered by itself. What has struck me as I have listened is not so much the lethargic pace of the first movement, and the occasional slowing down even in that pace (e. g., measures 28-31), as the lack of continuity of impetus from one note to the next and cohesive tension between one note and the next, and the consequent failure to make of the succession of notes a progression with cumulative excitement and power. In the third movement the florid violin passages, and in the finale the recitatives of the cellos and basses are played not only without cohesive continuity and tension but with almost no inflection; and a lack of intensity amounting almost to perfunctoriness makes the Andante maestoso *Seid umschlungen* of the finale not majestic, and the entire movement unimpressive. An additional surprise is the recorded sound, which is clear but without the voluminous spaciousness of the sound of London's "Swan Lake" and "Pelléas," and which in the last movement is occasionally defective in balance: the men of the chorus sound too far away from the women in the Andante maestoso, the excellent soloists too far away in their last Poco Adagio.

The two early Haydn symphonies on a Lyrichord record—Nos. 54 (1774) and 70 (1779)—I find only occasionally and mildly interesting. With them is what is alleged to be the lost companion piece to Mozart's "Paris" Symphony, namely the short and moderately engaging "Paris" Overture K.311a. The performances by Swarowsky with the Chamber Orchestra of the Vienna State Academy of Music are good; so is the recorded sound, with bass and treble reduced.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Ex-Communist "Liberal"

Dear Sirs: I have just read Why They Voted for McCarthy, by H. H. Wilson, in your September 24 issue. I feel that it cuts through the super-sophistication of liberals whose political philosophy is a response to an earlier disillusionment with communism rather than to the needs of our society. Congratulations on one of the finest articles to appear in *The Nation* in recent years.

Detroit NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Why Students Quit

Dear Sirs: At a recent American Civil Liberties Union meeting in New York, one of your contributors, H. H. Wilson, recited the following parody of I Am the Very Model of a Modern Major General from the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta "The Pirates of Penzance":

I

I am the very model of a member of the faculty,
Because I'm simply overcome with sentiments of loyalty.
I daily think of reasons why I'm glad to be American.
The thoughts I think are only thoughts approved by my community.
I pledge allegiance to the flag at every opportunity.
I haven't had a thing to do with Communist conspirators.
And neither have my relatives, descendants, or progenitors
I try to keep away from propositions controversial;
I've no opinions social, politic, or commercial.
And so you see that I must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

Chorus

And so you see that he must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

II

I'm qualified to educate in matters of heredity,
Unsullied by the taint of any doctrinaire rigidity.
I teach the Darwin theory with valuation critical.
Uninfluenced by dogmatists, religious or political.
I understand the economic forces that have made us great,
The system of free enterprise I do not underestimate.
I'm well equipped objectively to point out flaws in Marxist thought,
Because I've never read his work: and rest assured I'll not.
I freely follow truth in ways which I am sure will satisfy
The Board of Regents, William Hearst, and Hoover of the FBI.
And so you see that I must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

Chorus

And so you see that he must be, with sentiments of loyalty,
The very perfect model of a member of the faculty.

I think that this parody sums up pretty well the reasons why a number of students recently dropped out of the University of Southern California in protest against the dismissal of one of their instructors, Janet Stevenson [see *The Nation's* letters column of October 4].

New York EDWARD C. WHITMAN

The Group Basis of Politics

Dears Sirs: The last paragraph of Mr. Riddle's review of my book in the August 16 issue of *The Nation* needs correction in two respects. First, those who are familiar with the literature will find unacceptable his statement that "little has been added to the theory of the group basis of politics since Bentley in 1908." Although "little" is not a very precise measure, it would seem that more than little contributions to such theory have been made by Dewey, Lynd, McIver, Merton, Beard, Binkley, Bailey, Elliott, Fainsod, Fischer, Herring, Leiserson, Merriam, Schattschneider, and Truman. David Truman's "The Governmental Process" is an especially notable statement.

Second, although printing the title correctly would seem to be elementary procedure in a review, the title which appears at the head of the review is a shortened and therefore misleading version. The full title is "The Group Basis of Politics: A Study in Basing-Point Legislation," and it correctly labels the contents as a monograph and not a general work on political theory as the truncated title would seem to suggest.

Amherst, Mass. EARL LATHAM

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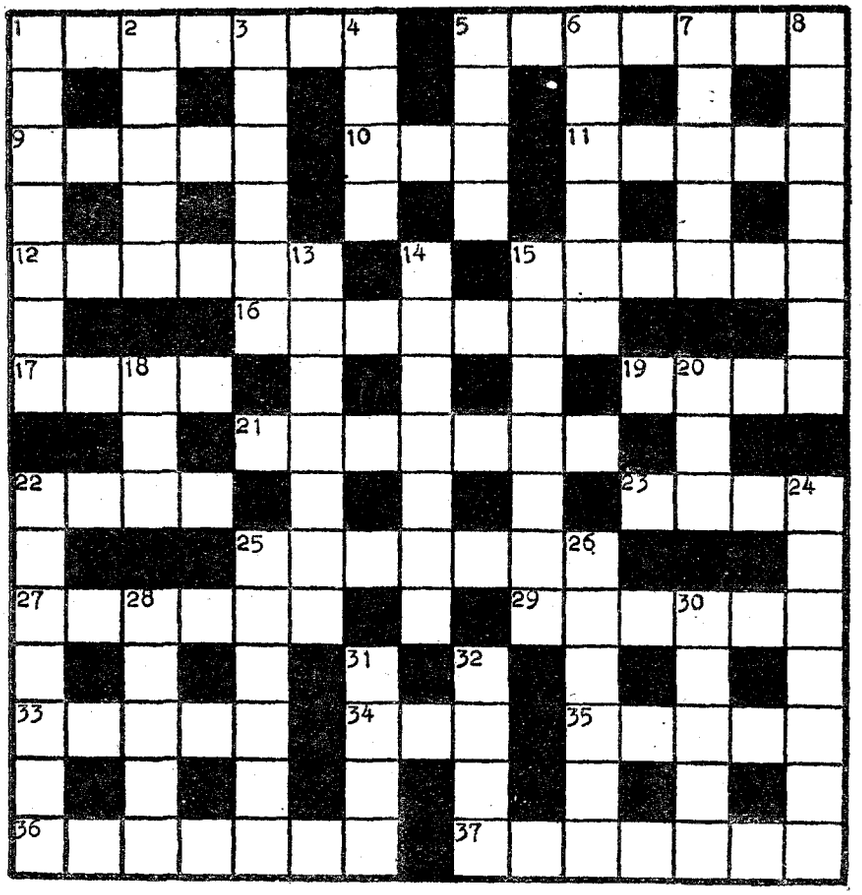
Crossword Puzzle No. 487

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 15 across.
5 Aeronautical smiths? (7)
9 . . . while this smith was Lewis' doctor. (5)
10 and 32 down. Correlative relatives in Virginia. (7)
11 Take this to hide, and sometimes hide with books or balls. (5)
12 Fish responsible for a neat dish?
15 and 1 across. What the duck raiser hopes to produce? (Keeping them there was a post-war problem!) (4, 2, 3, 4)
16 Are cans what Richard went to chase? (7)
17 Rank of one who secures things?
19 and 21. Water prescribed by the veterinarian? (4, 7)
22 See 20 down.
23 Distort what is sometimes associated with a canine sound. (4)
25 Craftsman, or how craft might be secured. (7)
27 The loser in a disputed election; however, if tried in court, he might easily have won. (6)
29 Flower some might pronounce a laggard? (6)
33 See 4 down.
34 and 26 down. Fuss with food? You'd love to have it! (9)
35 Gave out? Quite the opposite in the wrong order. (5)
36 A comedian might be tried and true.
37 Cattle affliction caused by motion?

DOWN

1 Passage studied in the survey course? (7)
2 Tolstoi called it the force that welds men together. (5)
3 and 18. Its position is desperate! (2, 4, 3)
4, 33 across, 31, 30, and 5 down. Why Siva would prove of assistance in case of power failure? (4, 5, 4, 5, 4)
5 See 4 down.
6 How they travel slowly in Korea?
7 That part of Fifth Avenue which might come in handy in case of an air raid? (5)
8 Unusual formation of garnets. (7)
13 One can't say he doesn't have any oars! (7)
14 1½ is the average for automobiles or boxes. (7)
15 Bare. (7)
18 See 3 down.
20 and 22 across. Mobile fashion? (1, 2, 4)
22 Having a counterpart equipped with a light? (7)
24 Impressionable. (7)
25 A girl, perhaps for each boy. (6)
26 See 34 across.
28 Ruler of the waves? (5)
30 and 31. See 4 down.

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 486

ACROSS:—1 RESIDUE; 5 COBBLER; 9 CHIPPER; 10 ANTLERS; 11 THE BILL OF RIGHTS; 12 LASCARS; 13 DIGESTS; 14 MIDYEAR; 17 INVENTS; 20 AIRCRAFT CARRIER; 21 DWINDLE; 22 SIGNORA; 23 RIGGERS; 24 DASHERS.

DOWN:—1 RECITAL; 2 SHINERS; 3 DUPLICATE BRIDGE; 4 ENROLLS; 5 CHAFFED; 6 BATTING AVERAGES; 7 LEECHES; 8 RESISTS; 14 MEANDER; 15 DARNING; 16 RAFTERS; 17 INCISED; 18 NOISOME; 19 STREAKS.

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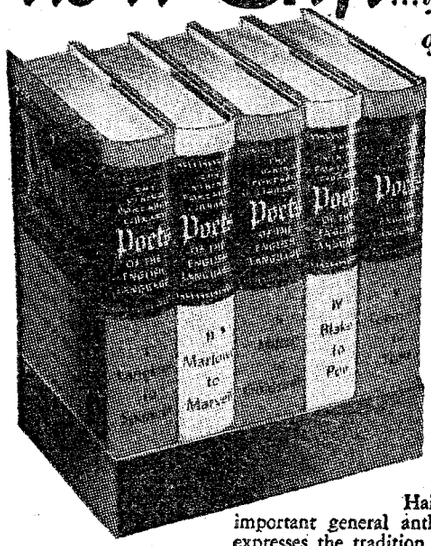

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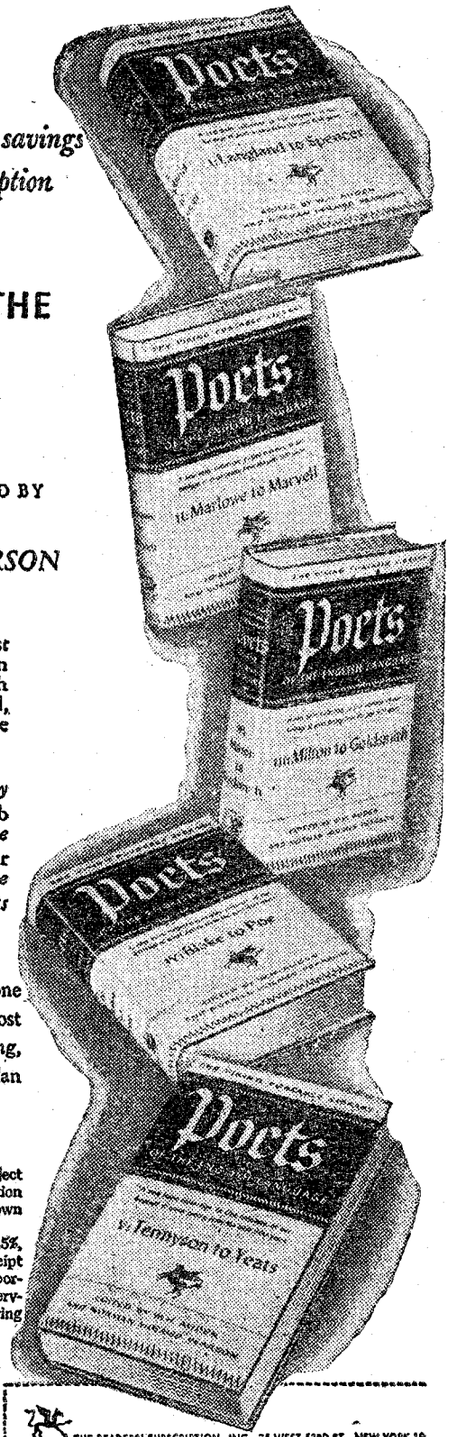

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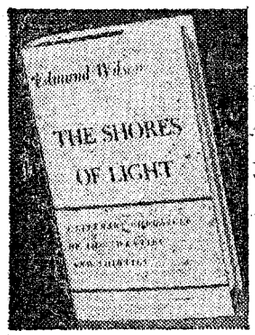

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